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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WARSAW PACT PEACE INITIATIVES DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 83 pp 18-31

[Article by Boleslaw Kulski and Mieczyslaw Olender: "The Peace Policies of the Member-States of the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] The joint action of the allied nations in their struggle against fascism created the basis for establishing the relations of peaceful cooperation among all countries, including the USSR and the other socialist states which had come into being after World War II on the one hand, and the capitalist states on the other. The legal-international framework for such cooperation was created by agreements based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. The agreements were concluded between the allied powers in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; they were also adopted in San Francisco in the Charter of the United Nations. The postwar policies of the great imperialist powers frustrated these possibilities. The political-ideological division of the world and of Europe was made even more possible by the breakdown thereof into economic blocs as a result of the Marshall Plan.

On 4 April 1949, 12 countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Iceland, Canada, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, the United States, Great Britain and Italy) concluded a military alliance directed against the USSR and the socialist states. This was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization--NATO. Greece and Turkey joined this alliance on 18 July 1952. At the same time that NATO came into being, the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] was also born. Both of these events in the history of postwar Europe were the results of the Cold War and the tensions which dominated East-West relations. Gaining full sovereignty as a result of the treaties of Paris of 23 October (taking effect on 5 May 1955), the FRG became an equal partner of the NATO military alliance and was not only empowered, but was also obligated to maintain armed forces.

These events undermined the provisions of the Potsdam Conference and created the prerequisites threatening peace and the outbreak of open conflict in Europe. The remilitarization of the FRG was conducted in an atmosphere of retaliatory and revisionist slogans. The exhortations to change the territorial status quo in Europe and to seize Polish territory in the west and north were notorious. The imperialist powers proclaimed dangerous and war-threatening slogans of "liberation" and incited a crusade against socialism. The United States was convinced of its military superiority over the

USSR. These were the threats which faced the socialist states at this time. These real threats and the West's refusal to conclude a treaty of collective security imposed the need to conclude a coalition alliance. Only in this manner could the united forces of imperialism be opposed and an effective barrier to the threat of armed conflict erected. Such were the causes leading to the establishment of the Warsaw Pact [WP]. These causes basically determined the essence of this organization as a defensive, political-military alliance of socialist states based on common ideological-political interests and objectives.

In July 1954, the USSR proposed the signing of a general European treaty of collective security; afterwards, the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia called for a General European Conference to conclude such a treaty. The objective of these initiatives was to prevent Europe being divided into opposing political-military blocs. The West ignored these proposals. In this situation, eight European socialist states and the USSR concluded a Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty, which was then called the Warsaw Treaty Organization (or Warsaw Pact), on 14 May 1955. (The treaty became effective on 6 June 1955 after being ratified by all signatories and the ratified documents being collected in Warsaw.) The Warsaw Pact came into being in answer to the West's policies, the establishment of NATO and the FRG's participation therein. This happened despite the many fruitless attempts on the part of the USSR and the other socialist states to implement the idea of collective security in Europe. The socialist states were then and are still against the organization of military groupings and the division of the world and Europe into opposing blocs.

An analysis of the legal provisions on which the Warsaw Pact is based indicate its progressive characteristics as an organization of a new kind. It is a regional organization (it comprises the territory of its member-states and the European part of the USSR), straightforward and totally corresponding to the provisions of the UN Charter. Non-socialist European states may also join the Warsaw Pact. The objectives of the WP completely correspond to article 57 of the UN Charter. The preamble of the WP Treaty defines these objectives as: "the goal of establishing a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation therein of all European states regardless of their sociopolitical system." Article 11 of the WP Treaty declares that "in the event of the establishment of a European system of collective security and the conclusion for this reason of a general European treaty of collective security, which would be the objective of all signatory parties, the present treaty would cease to be in force..."

The Warsaw Pact is not only in accordance with the UN Charter, but is also the implementation of the charter's basic objectives. Article 1 of the WP Treaty requires the signatory parties to settle their international differences by exclusively peaceful means; article 2 requires them to participate in all international ventures striving to guarantee international peace and security.

The starting point for the WP Treaty's strategy in its affairs with the capitalist states is the Leninist thesis of the peaceful coexistence of

states with opposing socioeconomic systems and the potential to avoid war. The main effort in the activity of the Warsaw Pact's agencies has always been directed toward reducing tension, eliminating the sources of conflict and seeking ways of agreement through initiatives which take into account the security requirements of all interested states and peoples.

During the 28 years of the Warsaw Pact's existence, many such proposals have been made. Many important initiatives have been ignored by the West. A number of important initiatives, made by WP member-states, thanks to their active, consistent and flexible policies, have been implemented and have contributed in no small way to maintaining peace and creating an atmosphere of detente advantageous to all the world's states. Many documents, councils, proposals and declarations on the part of the Warsaw Pact refer to the world's hotspots and armed conflicts. During the Vietnam War, many councils of the Political Consultative Committee [PCC] of the Warsaw Pact demanded an end to U.S. aggression and respect for the just rights and interests of the Vietnamese people. Many documents refer to the Middle East and offer ways of reaching a permanent and just peace in that part of the world. Councils of the PCC have also dealt with the problems causing conflicts in Africa, Latin America and Asia. However, the most important proposals of the Warsaw Pact for world peace deal with the issues of international security (especially in Europe), the curtailment of the arms race and disarmament.

Numerous proposals on the part of the Warsaw Pact's member-states, made with regard to Europe and the world, have dealt with all of the most basic areas of international relations: politics, law, military affairs, and economics; they have also covered science, technology and culture. The WP's member-states have aimed and continue to aim at setting up a European security system which encompasses all states regardless of their political system. Already at the first council of the PCC in January 1956 in Prague, the member-states proposed in an adopted declaration the establishment of an effective European security system (instead of the existing political-military blocs), the creation of zones restricting and controlling armed forces and weapons, the introduction of a prohibition for stationing nuclear weapons in both the FRG and the German Democratic Republic [GDR], the conclusion of treaties of non-aggression between certain states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the adoption of obligations requiring the settlement of problems by exclusively peaceful methods. The Western states rejected these proposals and continued the policies of the Cold War and the arms race.

In October 1957, Poland proposed the establishment in Central Europe of a nuclear-free zone. This proposal, known as the Rapacki Plan, won the support of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. In July 1958, the expanded Polish proposal was presented in a memorandum to all powers and interested European states. The Warsaw Pact strongly endorsed the Polish initiative. It is difficult to overestimate the positive influence the Polish Government's initiative had on improving the climate in international relations, although it was not implemented because of the negative position taken by the Western states. Later, proposals based on the provisions of the Polish initiative were made for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia, the Balkans, the Adriatic, Africa and the Far East. Poland, the USSR and the GDR proposed proclaiming the Baltic Sea a "Sea of Peace," free

of nuclear weapons. This proposal is still alive, as is the one calling for the denuclearization of Scandinavia and the Balkans, and is the subject of lively discussion in the international arena. The newest version of this proposal is the Swedish proposal calling for the establishment of a 300-kilometer nuclear-free war-zone running along a line dividing NATO from the Warsaw Pact. This proposal, adopted in principle by the Warsaw Pact, was rejected by the West. Several of the above-mentioned proposals were implemented in a treaty in Tlatelolco; Latin America was proclaimed a nuclear-free zone.

Another important Polish proposal which was fully supported by the other members of the Warsaw Pact was a plan by W. Gomulka calling for a freeze in nuclear weapons and missiles in Central Europe. This proposal was fully developed in a memorandum of the Polish Government of July 1964.

In December 1964, Poland advanced a proposal calling for a Conference on European Security and Cooperation [CSCE]. This issue, far-reaching from the nations of Europe and world peace, became the basis for an action program lasting for years on the part of the Warsaw Pact in the international arena. At a council of the PCC of the Warsaw Pact which took place in Warsaw in January 1965, the member-states supported the Polish initiative and called for a conference of European states on guaranteeing collective security, concluding a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and peacefully and justly settling the German question with both German states renouncing nuclear weapons.

The subsequent important moves on the part of the Warsaw Pact, which created the conditions for convening the CSCE, were the declaration made at the PCC Council on Bucharest in July 1966 and the appeal by the Warsaw Pact's member-states to all European countries in March 1969 in Budapest. The Warsaw Pact confirmed in these documents its proposals to resist the division of the world and Europe into opposing blocs and to strengthen peace and security in Europe by way of convening a general European conference.

Struggling to convoke a general European conference, the Warsaw Pact continued its efforts to normalize the situation in Europe and preserve the existing territorial-political status quo. The most difficult issue turned out to be getting the West, and especially the FRG, to recognize the territorial-political order which was the result of World War II and postwar development. The coordinated actions on the part of the Warsaw Pact member-states led to the conclusion in January 1970 of a treaty between the USSR and the FRG. The signing of this treaty created the conditions for the conclusion of treaties between the FRG and other socialist countries, including Poland and the GDR. The FRG treaties with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, as well as the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, signified the recognition of the territorial-political realities in post-war Europe and were an important phase in the building of a European security system. Their conclusion created the conditions for developing cooperation in Europe and removed the obstacles on the way to the CSCE. This was a great success for the policies of the Warsaw Pact as well as of those forces in the West which had declared themselves for a realistic international

forces in the West which had declared themselves for a realistic international policy.

At a council of the PCC in Prague in January 1972, the Warsaw Pact member-states reported the positive changes in the relations among European countries with satisfaction. They passed a declaration which called for the quickest possible convocation of the CSCE. This declaration stressed the necessity of basing European security on such principles as the inviolability of borders, the non-use of force, cooperation in the interest of peace, mutually advantageous relations, disarmament and support for the UN. These proposals were later reflected in the Final Act of the CSCE.

The favorable adjournment of the CSCE in Helsinki was an important event for Europe. The leaders of 35 countries collectively confirmed the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe and the European territorial-political status quo and declared their readiness to act in their own mutual relations according to coordinated principles. The Warsaw Pact member-states confirmed their own readiness to observe closely and implement the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference at the Bucharest council of the PCC in September 1976 and proposed to the act's signatories the conclusion of a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear weapons against each other. They declared themselves against the world's division into hostile political-military blocs and confirmed their readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Pact along with a simultaneous dissolution of NATO, and to eliminate, as a first step, their military organizations. The member-states called for the non-expansion of existing, closed blocs and political-military alliances and the non-creation of new ones. Consequently, this was not only the adoption of the Helsinki provisions, but the presentation of an extensive program for further strengthening detente and relations for peaceful cooperation in Europe and the whole world.

A comprehensive program for strengthening detente and creating the conditions for peaceful cooperation between the countries of Europe and the world was contained in the declaration of the PCC council in Moscow in November in 1978. The Warsaw Pact member-states called on all states and people to renounce the use of or threat of using force, condemn and completely eliminate war and end the arms race. They proposed the conduct of negotiations between the five nuclear powers for the purpose of eliminating from their arsenals all types of nuclear weapons and reducing their military budgets. They appealed to all countries and peoples to work for the completion of negotiations on disarmament and for military detente in Europe. They demanded the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism, the restructuring of international economic relations and the creation of a new international economic order. They called for the implementation of the standards and principles formulated in the Final Act of the CSCE. The proposals of the Warsaw Pact member-states became a genuine peace offensive. The implementation of these proposals would strengthen detente and lead to a genuine reduction in the weapons arsenals on the basis of observing existing balanced force levels and refraining from endangering the security of any state.



The West, unfortunately, did not move in the direction of developing and strengthening detente. The most harmful factor in the process of detente was the lack of interest on the part of the West in concluding arms limitations treaties. The policy of intensifying the arms race which was adopted by the capitalist states, and especially the United States, towards the end of the 1970's became the main reason for the breakdown of detente, the increase in international tensions and the threat of nuclear war.

There is a very close and singular connection between limitations in the arms race and the advance of detente. The important treaties and agreements on disarmament concluded in the 1960's and 1970's created the essential basis for the climate of detente in international relations and cleared the way for agreements on security and East-West cooperation. The detente initiatives and disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Pact member-states are mutually beneficial and complementary. An impressive number of treaties and agreements on arms limitations since World War II have been concluded on the basis of proposals by and because of the persistent efforts on the part of the Warsaw Pact member-states. Already in 1946, the USSR proposed the prohibition of the production and use of nuclear weapons and the destruction of those existing. The adoption of this proposal could have prevented the outbreak of an arms race in an area most threatening to humanity, the area of weapons and mass destruction. The rejection of the Soviet proposals makes the United States responsible for the assembly of the huge arsenals of nuclear weapons which now threaten the existence of civilization.

This proposal remained in force and was expanded by the USSR even after the U.S. monopoly on atomic weapons (1949) and hydrogen weapons (1953) was broken. In 1954 and 1955, the USSR advanced proposals which prohibited nuclear weapons and reduced conventional forces. Other socialist states advanced important disarmament proposals. The USSR presented a plan in 1956 which envisioned a reduction in the armed forces of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, a ban against nuclear weapons with an immediate cessation in testing, the elimination of military bases, a reduction in military expenditures and the establishment of a disarmament control system. These proposals, supported by the socialist states, were not accepted by the West.

The USSR and Warsaw Pact member-states undertook unilateral steps to disarm beyond the proposals made to the West. In 1955, the USSR removed its bases in Porkkalla-Udd (Finland) and Port Arthur (PRC). Advancing in 1955 a proposal to conclude a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the Warsaw Pact member-states conducted a unilateral reduction in their armed forces (the USSR alone by 640,000 soldiers). Between 1955 and 1958, Warsaw Pact member-states reduced the size of their forces by 2,477,000 soldiers (Poland by 141,500). In 1958, the number of Soviet forces in the GDR and Hungary was reduced and Soviet forces were completely withdrawn from Rumania.

In a declaration adopted at the PCC council of the Warsaw Pact member-states in 1958, these states indicated a need to cease the testing of atomic weapons immediately, that the nuclear powers renounce the use of nuclear weapons, that space enjoy a ban on being used for military purposes, that foreign

military bases be closed, that agreements be worked out to prevent outright attack, that there be a reduction in the number of foreign forces in both German states and in other European states. The declaration also contained beyond the above a series of proposals concerning the consolidation of international security. The contents of the declaration prove that the Warsaw Pact even then had a far-reaching political concept of limiting armaments and of detente.

In 1959, at the 16th Session of the UN General Assembly, the USSR presented a program of universal and total disarmament which was supported by the socialist states. This program envisioned the dissolution of all armed forces, the destruction of all types of weapons, above all nuclear, the abolition of military service, the suspension of expenditures for military purposes and other things.

The result of the Soviet-U.S. discussions was the convention of the UN General Assembly by the U.S. and USSR on 21 September 1961 and the joint announcement (the Zorin-McCloy Agreement) of the principles and objectives of their disarmament negotiations. The General Assembly recommended the adoption of this document as the basis for disarmament negotiations. This document envisioned the demobilization of the armed forces by eliminating military sites and bases, the destruction of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction and other assets, thus leading to the eradication of war as "a means of deciding international problems." For the purpose of conducting negotiations on this basis, a Disarmament Committee of 18 states was appointed. The committee was later expanded to 40 members, who continue to work today in Geneva examining special disarmament projects.

Negotiations for a total ban on the testing of nuclear weapons began with a proposal by the USSR already in 1958. These negotiations were, however, unsuccessful. Later, the USSR made a second expanded proposal on the cessation of testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. During negotiations in Moscow, the representatives of the USSR, the U.S. and Great Britain agreed on the text of a treaty which was signed on 5 August 1963 and became effective in October of that same year. This treaty, the first disarmament treaty since World War II, won the universal acclaim of many countries and peoples. Almost all the world's states, with the exception of the PRC and France, adhered to it. Considerable significance is enjoyed by the Soviet-U.S. agreements of 1974 and 1975 which limit the underground testing of nuclear weapons. An agreement banning the deployment of weapons of mass destruction in outer space was also achieved due to Soviet initiative.

During the 1960's, a number of states which did not have nuclear weapons reached a scientific-technical capability which allowed them to develop their own nuclear weapons. The issue of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons acquired particular significance in light of this. As a result, the USSR advanced a plan in 1965 for a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This plan was supported by the socialist states. On 1 July 1968 the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as agreed to by the Western powers, was presented in Moscow, London and Washington for signing.

In July 1968, the USSR also advanced a memorandum for halting the arms race. The Soviet Union proposed a convention banning the use of nuclear and negotiations halting their production, limiting and destroying stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the strategic means of their delivery, a ban on underground testing, a ban on the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the closing of military bases and a ban on using the ocean and sea floors for military purposes. There was also a proposal contained in the memorandum calling for a world disarmament conference. The Warsaw Pact states supported the Soviet proposals contained in the memorandum at a PCC council in March 1968.

In 1969 the Soviet Government delivered to the UN Disarmament Committee a draft treaty banning the use of sea and ocean floors and the earth beneath them for military purposes. This draft became the basis for a treaty banning the positioning of nuclear weapons and any types of weapons of mass destruction on the sea or ocean floors and the earth beneath them. This treaty was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 7 November 1970. At the beginning of the 1970's, the socialist countries dedicated much of their activity to the issue of calling for a world disarmament conference. Such a conference has not yet been convened because of the negative position taken by several Western states, especially the United States. However, a special UN disarmament session was conducted in 1978 as a result of this Soviet initiative. A second such session took place in 1982.

The socialist states have always taken a stand for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, including biological and chemical weapons. In 1969, the USSR presented a draft convention in this regard during deliberations of the UN Disarmament Committee. The socialist states advanced a similar draft convention at the UN in 1970. Inasmuch as reaching an agreement on chemical weapons was very difficult, the socialist states proposed the conclusion of an agreement on biological weapons. This led to an agreement and the presentation in April 1972 of a convention banning the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles for signing. A majority of the world's states accepted this convention and it became effective in 1975. This was the first real step in the direction of disarmament in history and it envisioned the elimination of an entire category of weapons of mass destruction. The socialist states consistently demand the destruction of all types of chemical weapons and advance many plans and proposals with regard to this. For many years now, the USSR has advanced a proposal for the reduction of military spending and a halt in the growth of world expenditures for arms. These proposals refer not only to the military spending of the great powers, but also to the military budgets of other states.

The socialist states, especially the USSR, were advocates of the conclusion of a convention banning manipulation of the natural environment for military purposes. The efforts of many years were crowned with success. In 1975, the USSR and the U.S. introduced a joint, coordinated draft to the UN Disarmament Committee. In May 1977, a convention banning manipulation of the environment for military purposes was signed in Geneva.



Thus, such was the result of the struggle of the socialist states, lasting for many years, for disarmament and arms limitation--the conclusion of multilateral agreements on banning the testing of nuclear weapons in the air, beneath the sea and ocean floor, the denuclearization of outer space, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, banning bacteriological weapons, banning the military manipulation of the environment, etc.

Based on initiatives or significant contributions from the Soviet Union, a number of bilateral agreements limiting the arms of the superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, which possess 90 percent of the world's nuclear potential, was concluded. As a result of the negotiations undertaken on limiting strategic weapons, the USSR and the U.S. signed a treaty in 1972 on limiting antiballistic missile systems and an agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons (SALT 1). Both powers also signed an agreement on negotiating principles for further limiting strategic offensive weapons and the avoidance of nuclear war (1973), a protocol to a treaty on antiballistic missile defense systems and a treaty limiting underground nuclear testing (1974); a treaty on underground nuclear testing for peaceful purposes (1976); an agreement on cooperation in space research for peaceful purposes (1977), and a treaty limiting strategic offensive weapons (1979--SALT II). This last agreement was not ratified by the U.S. This fact, as well as the U.S. and NATO decisions to increase their defense spending by an annual rate of 3 percent and the introduction in Europe of U.S. medium-range missiles, signified a significant change in course in the policies of the U.S. and key Western states vis-a-vis the socialist states.

In the face of the drastic change in the course of Western foreign policy, the Warsaw Pact states have remained true to their traditional, peaceful policy of detente. They advance appeals, initiatives and proposals for a return to detente by presenting a number of new and important detente and disarmament proposals.

A PPC council of the Warsaw Pact states took place in Warsaw in May 1980 in an atmosphere of growing international tension. It was an anniversary council which summed up the activities of the alliance's 25 years and reviewed its present tasks.

In this summation of its 25 years of activity, it was affirmed that the Warsaw Pact has not allowed the outbreak of war in Europe by "cooperating and working together" with all the forces of peace and has contributed to a lessening of international tension and the development of just and equal cooperation. It was acknowledged that the pact's most singular accomplishment has been the break in the tragic cycle of wars in Europe. The fundamental success of the Warsaw Pact's policy was the recognition by all states of the territorial and political realities in Europe and the confirmation of the inviolability of the borders between the states on this continent. Great significance was attached to the call for the CSCE and its conclusion with the adoption of the Final Act in Helsinki by 35 heads of state. Another acknowledged and important success of the Warsaw Pact's consistently peaceful policy on shaping the international situation was the conclusion of agreements in several areas, including disarmament and armaments limitation,

as well as considerable progress in the development of political, trade, technical and scientific relations between states with different socioeconomic systems.

The Warsaw Pact member-states once again proclaimed that "they never have attempted nor will they ever attempt to achieve military superiority"; they invariably declare themselves for securing military equality at an ever-decreasing level; "they have never had, nor do they have the intention of building the potential for the attainment of a nuclear first-strike capability"... "they cannot and will not attempt to create spheres of interest," "establish military or political control over any region or international routes of communication."

The Warsaw Pact states have appealed for the concentrated efforts of all states in achieving progress in such fundamental issues of shaping the international situation as completely and universally banning nuclear testing, banning radiological weapons, banning chemical weapons and destroying their stockpiles, obligating the nuclear powers to the non-use of nuclear weapons against states which do not have them on their territory, the conclusion of a global treaty on the non-use of force, the cessation of nuclear weapons production and the gradual reduction in their stockpiles, banning the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction and a reduction in military spending.

In a situation of growing tension, the Warsaw Pact member-states have expressed their conviction that states and people are able to guarantee and strengthen peace.

The Warsaw Pact states have consistently declared themselves for the complete removal of nuclear weapons from Europe. They have repeatedly proposed the destruction of all nuclear weapons systems in Europe, including those that are medium-range and tactical in nature. The U.S. and NATO, which envision the possibility of the first use of nuclear weapons in their doctrine, have not responded to these proposals. In October 1979 the USSR proposed a reduction in the number of its medium-range missiles if new U.S. missiles were not deployed in Europe even while NATO was still considering its decision. In accordance with the Soviet proposal of July 1980, Soviet-U.S. consultations on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons (INF) in Europe began in Geneva in November 1981.

In March 1982, the USSR announced a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of its territory. Subsequent Soviet proposals have been the proof of its flexibility and resistance to the West's demands and admonitions. On 27 May 1983 the USSR announced that it was prepared to maintain in Europe the same number of missiles as France and Great Britain possessed together, with the stipulation that an identical level in the number of medium-range aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons be attained by both sides. Afterwards, the USSR expressed its readiness to agree to equality not only in delivery systems, but also in the number of nuclear warheads.

A few days before the beginning of the final, decisive round of negotiations in Geneva, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Y. Andropov, announced a readiness to dismantle all missiles exceeding a level of equality with the overall total of French and British missiles, if an agreement could be reached in Geneva. The Soviet position was supported not only by its allied socialist states. The significance of political and social forces in the West is growing. These forces are against the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. Progress, however, was not achieved in the ongoing negotiations in Geneva. It seems that in its plans to achieve strategic superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the deployment of a new generation of missiles in Europe was of such importance for the United States that it is not going to renounce these plans until it is forced to change its Cold War policies. In January 1983, the scheduled PCC council of the Warsaw Pact member-states met in Prague in a situation threatening world peace. The council designated the direction of the activities of the Warsaw Pact for the purpose of avoiding nuclear war, returning to an atmosphere of detente in international relations and halting an arms race intensified by the United States and NATO. The adopted declaration emphasized that there still is an opportunity to suppress the dangerous developments in the international arena. The declaration contains a number of important detente and disarmament proposals. One of the most significant was the proposal to conclude a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Warsaw Pact states have been advancing such a proposal for a long time. However, this proposal was further expanded and clarified in the adopted declaration. The treaty would obligate its signers to the non-first use of nuclear or conventional weapons and to the non-use of force or the threat of its use overall, and would be open to all states to join. It is an unusually far-reaching initiative. Its implementation would allow the mobilization of many political and legal mechanisms facilitating the breakdown of the division of Europe and the construction of a general European security system.

In April 1983 there was a meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Pact. This meeting clarified the initiatives and proposals contained in January's PCC Declaration. The PCC Declaration touched upon, in addition to the treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, such problems as the establishment of nuclear-free zones, the removal of chemical weapons (and the creation of a chemical-free zone), a freeze and a reduction in armaments spending.

Along with the upcoming deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, the Cold War decisions to be made at the meeting of the seven top industrially developed capitalist states in Williamsburg and the NATO Council session in Paris, Moscow was host to the leaders of the socialist states in June 1983. This meeting demonstrated the unity of action on the part of the Warsaw Pact states in the face of the worsening policy of confrontation on the part of the West vis-a-vis the socialist states; it also confirmed the pact's readiness to undertake steps to guarantee common security and declared at the same time a constructive approach to the solution of sensitive international problems. A joint communique confirmed that, despite the continuing

complicated world situation, the Warsaw Pact's peace program, contained in the Prague political declaration of 5 January 1983, is still completely applicable. It called on the U.S. to reach an agreement in Geneva which would preclude the deployment of U.S. missiles. The proposals on the subject of freezing the nuclear weapons of the superpowers, a ban on the deployment of any weapons in outer space, a general freeze from 1 January 1984 and a reduction thereafter in military spending, the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe, the conclusion of a treaty between Warsaw Pact states and NATO on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations were renewed. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact states once again confirmed that they would permit no one to gain nuclear superiority. The meeting's participants confirmed their position that the territorial-political realities existing in Europe today are inviolable.

Unfortunately, the United States is continuing a policy which seriously threatens peace. As Comrade Y. Andropov affirmed in his speech on 28 September 1983, the Americans, "...claiming the role of masters in deciding the fate of the world, are attempting to introduce self-serving, advantageous systems where they meet no opposition." The Soviet leader explained the policies of the Reagan Administration as pure adventurism and the newest U.S. disarmament proposals of the President, praised by the West's propaganda as being peaceful and flexible, as "fraud planned at the top."

At the ongoing current session of the United Nations General Assembly, the USSR presented a number of new and important detente and disarmament proposals, including a draft declaration forever and unconditionally condemning "nuclear 'war' as the most monstrous crime against nations and a transgression of man's most elementary right--the right to life" and a proposal for a freeze of nuclear weapons where it "summons all nuclear states to 'freeze' with suitable verification all nuclear weapons possessed with regard to their number and type..."

A session of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs Committee of the Warsaw Pact took place in Sofia on 13 and 14 October 1983. The session's communique confirms the worsening of the international situation as a result of imperialism's policy of confrontation, the direct use of military force against states and peoples and the questioning of the territorial-political results of World War II.

Particularly significant time during the deliberations of the Ministers' Committee was spent on the issues of preventing the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and reducing existing nuclear and weapons already in Europe. This all would be an important step on the way to completely freeing Europe of nuclear weapons.

The Warsaw Pact states warned in their communique that those states which have allowed the deployment of new Euro-strategic weapons on their soil bear the awesome responsibility for the beginning of a new phase of the arms race on the continent.

The Warsaw Pact states declared themselves for the quickest reaching of an agreement in the USSR-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on the basis of equality and mutual security. This agreement should be able to promote the stabilization of the strategic-military situation and an equality of forces on an ever-decreasing level. The Warsaw Pact states were for a continuation of the Geneva talks even after the end of the period for negotiations set by the U.S. and NATO (if the order of U.S. negotiations is suspended).

The communique affirms that the Warsaw Pact states expect an urgent and positive response to their detente proposals, especially on the issue of: the adoption by all nuclear powers (as the USSR has done already) of the obligation not to be the first user of nuclear weapons; a qualitative and quantitative freeze by all nuclear powers, especially the USSR and the U.S., the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons testing; the banning of the militarization of outer space; and arms limitation in Europe. The Warsaw Pact states also anticipate a positive response to their proposals for the conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

The council also emphasized the significance of establishing nuclear-free zones in Europe.

The communique once again expresses the conviction of the Warsaw Pact states in a situation of growing international tensions and threats of war that by way of negotiations, all problems in international relations may be solved, even the most difficult ones.

The peace policies of the socialist states are not of a transitory nature. Even in the situation of the arms race and tension, intensified by the West, the Warsaw Pact states are continuing a policy which seeks to turn away from the dangerous course of events moving towards a growth in the tension in international relations and the real threat of war. In October 1981, based on an initiative of the socialist states, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution proclaiming that there will be no justification or pardon for politicians who made the decision to be the first users of nuclear weapons. The delegations of the socialist states demand the condemnation of all doctrines which allow the use of nuclear weapons. (At a special UN disarmament session in June 1982, the USSR obligated itself unilaterally not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.)

Despite the genuine threat to peace by the militaristic policy of the U.S. and NATO, opportunities continue to exist for a return to detente. These opportunities are invariably created by the peace policies of the Warsaw Pact states which are both determined not to permit the U.S. and NATO to achieve strategic superiority and simultaneously ready to do everything to reach an agreement with the West on the basis of mutual advantage and equal security for all parties.

In an interview for Soviet television on 12 October 1983, General Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke of the victory over fascism and the emergence of the Polish People's Republic. Speaking of the conclusions resulting from those historic

events for the present, the general affirmed the most important of these conclusions to be the following: "...first is the confirmation of the ancient proverb that 'whoever fights with a sword will die by the sword'; hence, it is high time that the instigators against peaceful coexistence understand that with modern war-waging capabilities, genocide is the same as suicide. Secondly that it is necessary to fight for peace with all means. Finally, that our priceless worth is the internationalist, humanist bond which ties together the peoples of the socialist community along with the progressive and peace-loving forces on earth."

12247

CSO: 2600/457

## HUNGARY

### ROLE, RESPONSIBILITY OF MEDIA TOWARD SOCIALISM OUTLINED

Budapest JELKEP - TELEVIZIO, RADIO, SAJTO in Hungarian No 3, 1983 pp 3-11

[Interview with Dr Erno Lakatos, director of MSZMP CC Agitation and Propaganda Department, by Istvan Wisinger: "About Our Mutual Concerns", date and place not specified]

[Text] Erno Lakatos completed his studies at the College of Journalism in 1950; at age 25, he was already working as editor of one of our daily papers. After 1956, he managed the domestic politics editorial staff of Magyar Radio [Hungarian Radio]; in 1962, he became the responsible editor of Magyar Ifjusag [Hungarian Youth]. Seven years later he was appointed deputy chairman of the Office of Information; in 1977 he was appointed editor-in-chief of MTI, and later became its managing director; since 1 July 1982 he has been the director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

[Question] I would ask you now to examine in our journal those of the divergent and manifold tasks of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee which deal with the press and our information policy. Of these, we would be most interested in the party's direction of the press. How does the department promote this?

[Answer] I hope that in answer to your question, you do not expect me to become embroiled in a lengthy theoretical discussion. I am unable to do so if for no other reason than our activities in this area are of a rather practical nature. Party direction is effected through political instruments, organizational decisions and resolutions. We contribute to this with our work which provides planning, organizational and concrete aid. This system is already rather well developed, and has been satisfactorily operating for a long time. Just consider primarily our regular conferences for editors-in-chief. At these, the responsible editors of the television and radio and those of the daily, weekly and county newspapers receive all the information they need to independently and responsibly fulfill their work. We consider the system of the conferences for editors-in-chief, the initiation, the information providing basic information and the mutual exchanges of ideas to be the most important methods and instruments of direction. Discussions and exchanges of views with the leading journalists in various fields are taking place more frequently. Naturally, in

addition to our many other activities, we too must continuously and attentively monitor radio and television as well as the publications of the most important organs of the printed press so that we might be able to provide not just information but also appropriate evaluations at these conferences. My colleagues in the Division of Information devote a great deal of time and energy to this analytic activity, i.e., to processing and evaluating observations; I might add that I too read a great deal, listen to the radio and watch television programs. To some extent, beside the requirements of my job, I also consider this my professional responsibility.

[Question] You just mentioned that the system of party direction of the press has been established and is working well. Nevertheless, does it need some improvement?

[Answer] The press, radio and television are instruments of unparalleled strength for the enlightenment, information and I might calmly add, for the instruction and influencing of the populace. In this vein, the party, as the responsible authority investigating society, again and again strives to win the hearts and minds of the people.

When the political committee of the MSZMP put our work on the agenda last year in December and adopted resolutions concerning the further expansion of press, radio and television direction, its purpose was exactly to uncover deficiencies and highlight areas where our work needed improvement. In its resolution, it vigorously criticized the fact that the formation of uniform political attitudes and the required orientation activities were not properly effected everywhere. Nor was it proper that a great many publications (more than 1,700 in the country) remained outside the central information system. The improper operation of the internal direction and supervisory mechanism and the working studies carried out without the inclusion of the responsible directors at the central institutions of the mass media--mainly radio and television--also had rather damaging consequences. The necessary information did not always reach those who needed it, but neither was accountability for the utilization of information consistent. As a result, programs which were ideologically confused, politically damaging or misproportionate were aired. Therefore, among the things needed to be done to improve the work of direction, the Political Committee especially emphasized the primary responsibility of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee for the organizing, coordinating and orienting work serving the assertion of party direction. For this it is necessary that we modernize and further develop the system of instructing the press directors--not only editors-in-chief and editors, but also publicists who influence public opinion and specialists--as well as the methods of analyzing the work of the press. The National Association of Hungarian Journalists, as the social organization of press workers, and the Cabinet Office of Information will assume more significant roles than before in the regular orientation of journals which to date have remained outside central direction but which have a significant impact on certain strata. Taking the above-listed problems and deficiencies into consideration, the central daily and weekly newspapers have the very important responsibility of reviewing their own activity during the past year by checking themselves thoroughly, and to take measures to improve their



internal information and accountability system.

[Question] How will the implementation of the tasks stemming from the mentioned resolutions contribute to the development of information? -- because, I suspect, this is the purpose of expanding the controls.

[Answer] Allow me to begin from the premise that the principles of the MSZMP's information policy have proven correct in practice--in the long run. Here, information is a public matter; both the populace and the leadership consider it such. Openness and honesty are the basic principles of the MSZMP's information policy. Workers in the media and also journalists are able to directly observe this. Janos Kadar has very often said--most recently on television following the Central Committee meeting--that, "There are as many of us as we are able to convince." Therefore, we strive for reliable, quick, frank, open and true information--primarily, so that the diffusion of information will also promote the attainment of social goals and so that people will understand what is happening around them and that this knowledge will inspire them to action.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the most timely problems in the current practice of information policy which require the greatest attention?

[Answer] In all events, I would take the latest so-called mid-course resolution of the party's Central Committee as the point of departure for my answer. The Central Committee meeting prepared an exact, comprehensive and thorough analysis of the country's present situation. As it is commonly known, the country's population lives amidst balanced conditions--despite our economic difficulties. We may build on this consolidated situation in the media just as in every other large-scale political activity. Under these conditions, convincing and winning over the people is perhaps easier to some extent, and partially more difficult. The report delivered at the Central Committee meeting also indicated the existence of numerous problems confronting workers in the media. The sudden termination of detente and the growing economic difficulties fundamentally influence the work of the entire media because in these conditions we must also demonstrate to the populace the value of the achievements reached which are worth protecting. Nor is this such a simple matter; we must reckon with the psychological factor that people easily forget as a result of a few compulsory and unexpected measures. We must make them realize that it is precisely with these measures that we are helping to protect our fundamental achievements--the security of the people's power, public ownership of the means of production, socialist relations of production, the balanced and pleasant atmosphere and our democratic institutions. Another similar task is to convincingly support the standard-of-living policy and to prove that there is something to protect. We should put a stop to the so-called price-centric attitude. That is, people primarily judge the development of their living standards on the basis of price fluctuations, whereas, the living standard is basically a function of output. The press must make this relationship understood and accepted.

Since I have already mentioned our major tasks, I would like to mention just one more matter which is worth very serious attention. As a result of the

well-known economic difficulties and the protracted capitalistic world economic crisis, almost every country around the globe has found itself in an unexpected situation. Therefore, the people must be honestly informed that the effects of the unexpected factors and the incalculability of the economic sphere also often catch the economic leadership unprepared. However, anyone who pursues a conscious, planned policy must be prepared to find solutions to unexpected situations. In this, I think the role of the press is to better explain and make accepted the internal regularity of the processes--here, for example, the manifestation of the constantly appearing and observable unexpected results.

[Question] One of the central themes of the national ideological conference held in January was "Amidst the increasingly severe conditions, democracy must be expanded and not curtailed". The resolution of the latest Central Committee meeting formulated this even more strongly. What does this mean to the press?

[Answer] Generally, in reference to the need of expanding socialist democracy, the MSZMP announced a two-front struggle after the counterrevolution, and it is our good fortune that this bidimensional sensitivity has been characteristic of its policy ever since. Of course, in hard times there immediately appear sentiments such as "the reins must be tightened..., a firmer hand is or will be necessary..., let us strike there, comrade...", etc. This is also why, at the January party assembly and at the 12-13 April 1983 meeting of the Central Committee, special significance was attributed to the fact that in hard times quite contrarily, it is possible to move forward by expanding democracy and totally liberating creative spirit and thought. This is also important because our experiences prove that we cannot go wrong with democracy--for example, just think of our agricultural successes. On the one hand, the press must represent the expansion of democracy and, on the other, serve it. If people are not properly informed, the expansion of democracy is not benefited in any way. For example, lately we could satisfactorily observe and record as a significant element of progress the fact that directors working in the most diverse capacities fulfill their information obligations to an ever greater extent and turn to the populace with open, honest and convincing words. But everything is not in order in this area yet.

This is indicated by the fact that recently while visiting editorial offices, several times I have been asked who sets up restrictions and where they are placed. Since I myself am one of the most determined opponents of restrictions, I quickly checked--documents, notes and my memory--to see who issued what types of restrictions and when. I found nothing. Therefore, the next time I requested that they point to a concrete instance. They replied, "Then why doesn't the Hungarian press write about snorting, the spreading narcotics usage among the youth?" It did! Several papers and technical journals generally dealing with health care issues had treated this topic. But the experts and doctors were of the opinion that we would be unable to combat it if the forums of the mass media which have large circulations were to contribute to the dissemination of the methods of narcotics use with their reports. Thus, more harm could have been done than good. In this instance, the media simply subordinated itself to expert opinion and when it was given the signal that the various deaths represented a turning point and were almost alarming, the medical profession

and the press leadership jointly decided that the public interest required that one of the most viewed information programs, the television program entitled "Hirhatter" ["News Background"] deal with the subject. The discriminating handling of this sensitive issue is not in the least inconsistent with our pursuit of providing open, honest information nor with our desire to also contribute to the expansion of socialist democracy by improving our information services.

Here we could also say something about the restrictions on topics damaging to foreign trade or other interests, but under no circumstances do I include these among the list of "prohibitions". I believe that there can be no "sensitive" issues in our society, but only wrong answers. These are what cause the real concern.

[Question] The question of what to do with the conflicts of interest observable in our society was the interesting topic of several ideological, agitation and propaganda forums. More to the point, to what extent should the mass media workshops be an open forum for these conflicting interests?

[Answer] This is a very exciting question. One of the great merits of our political movement was that the MSZMP was in the forefront of analyzing the interrelationships of interests and in utilizing its observations. It is no secret that tensions could and do exist among the interests of the individual, the smaller community, and society. It is also the task of the press to interpret and portray these, but in a way that the goal be the easing of the tension. Publications and programs which contribute to the maintenance of these conflicts, or what is even worse, to their intensification, must be avoided. For example, when analyzing world economic problems, one must be very very careful to clarify what is within our control and what is caused by factors beyond our control. We must also guard against masking our own weaknesses with the difficulties stemming from the world economic crisis situation, but at least we should be careful enough to refrain from blaming the economic leadership, who have otherwise strived to hold their ground with honor and hard work, for the difficulties assaulting us from without.

[Question] During the course of our discussion, our economic problems have already been mentioned several times. In your opinion, is it possible to provide better information services and a higher quality press with less money and under more difficult circumstances?

[Answer] I am entirely sure of this. Quality is never a question of money. I have already seen very expensively produced newspapers which were bad and have heard excellent radio and television programs produced with rather modest amounts of money. I don't dispute the fact that financial conditions could play an important role especially in the case of the modern electronic press, i.e., the radio and television news services, which require a very expensive technical base, but I am convinced that there is no direct correlation between financial resources and content and quality. In hard times, the available, but more limited financial resources must be handled more intelligently and

economically even in the institutions of the mass media.

[Question] In our day the television has come to the forefront, in the order of importance, as an instrument of the mass media; nevertheless, it seems almost impossible to terminate its financial backwardness. What may be expected in this area?

[Answer] We are truly in a difficult situation; however, I do not consider it to be hopeless. On the basis of its economic and technical development, our country belongs in the middle ranking of the countries of the world. This may not be ignored, because even in an absolute sense, our financial resources are limited. Today, there is simply no area from where money could be reallocated to ease television's problems. In my opinion, money must be sacrificed for television as soon as the country's economic situation becomes even slightly better and the telecommunications agencies--news services, radio--which are similarly important and require high-quality technical equipment must be given top priority --as soon as there is a realistic opportunity for this, I emphasize. We can only hope that it does not take too long.

[Question] Should the journalist always represent the higher will and ideas, or also opinions possibly to the contrary?

[Answer] Throughout the world, mass media is committed to something--to the ruling class, an issue, the people, or what have you. An individual's good abilities and professional preparedness are not sufficient anywhere; it is also necessary to have a commitment which reflects that the journalist is not an outsider. This, by the way, has never been characteristic of only our system. The bourgeois journalist is also committed to the given policy. We still remember the dispute between the French government and television years ago when, during the "hot summer" of Paris, French television reporters were dismissed en masse. There is hardly an instance we could mention in the experience of the bourgeois press when it did not respond in total harmony on a fundamentally important question; it is as if one conductor gave the signal from West Berlin to Los Angeles. They know what their job is and do it well.

What does commitment mean here? Naturally, it means voluntary commitment and political service. Nevertheless, one still finds publications and programs in the media whose authors seemed to have forgotten in the service of what interests confidence was placed in them. They make observations as outsiders, whereas they are operating in a political workshop and they should be working for the realization of the politics represented by the workshop. Occasionally, a multitude of problems stems from this: prejudice, the inflation of small matters, the belittling of significant matters, the forceful assertion of preconceptions, privatization, incorrect generalizations and conclusions, ahistorical attitudes, etc. As a consequence of the conduct of some individuals, it was necessary to bring up at the Central Committee's mid-course meeting that television, radio and press is not the private property of certain individuals, but rather, they stand in the service of society as a whole. Even if the above examples do not occur too frequently, we may not allow them

to pass unmentioned. In the final analysis, we could even answer the question in one sentence: the press should at all times represent the interests of the Hungarian people who are building socialism, and it should support their aspirations. Naturally, it must do this with preparedness, great professional expertise, bravely and, where necessary, critically and bluntly. I would like to add to this sentence and stand it right side up by saying that in general, the instruments of mass media only mirror conditions and may not assume the responsibility for problems caused by others elsewhere.

[Question] In the final analysis, what does the right to err mean in the mass media? How is a journalist able to avoid, let us say, while representing his own opinion, losing sight of the interests of the official organization on whose forum, the party's paper or television, he is heard?

[Answer] This is a question of intelligence and preparedness. The two matters may not rigidly diverge, nor may they come into very much conflict. Under normal circumstances, the interests of society and those of the journalist acting in its service may not steadily diverge. Incidentally, the secretary of the Central Committee spoke resolutely and clearly about the meaning of the right to err at the above-mentioned ideological party assembly held in January. He explained that although this was a given for everyone, one must be very careful because it is entirely different whether it is to the detriment of an individual or to that of millions. How one differentiates is a question of political, professional and ideological judgment. Of course, this is not only expected of every journalist, but, under certain circumstances, may also be required.

[Question] Some consider journalists a necessary evil, especially in the case of more sensitive subjects. However, if a journalist is a bit more aggressive he may easily be accused of "acting like a prosecutor or judge" or of "betraying" his partners.

[Answer] I have an entirely different view of this phenomenon. We are talking about a double-edged matter. The subject of a report, and especially a director, whom a reporter is able to "betray" or "provoke" deserve their fate. I have my opinion about them and also about the reporter who did it. It always takes two. I cannot condone the aggressive conduct of a reporter. If the reporter is thoroughly prepared, the viewers, readers or listeners can easily decide who is right, and for the most part, they appreciate a somewhat more modest conduct. After all, in the end it is also a matter of professional preparation for the journalist to assert the truth of what he believes in accordance with the appropriate rules and conventions of the given situation. In turn, the respective government or other director must create and protect his prestige by his own preparation and knowledge. Whoever is incapable of doing this publically is nowadays probably unable to fulfill his own professional objectives since, for similar reasons and with less publicity, he may also find himself facing the general opinion of a given ministry, enterprise or institution. It is true that the reporter is in no way subordinated to his subject, but the converse is also true. Therefore, it is unacceptable if a journalist actually enjoys playing the role of prosecutor or examining judge, thereby damaging his colleagues' judgment. It is my personal observation that it is precisely these journalists who clamor most

loudly for democracy, the protection of personal rights and the observance of the standards of human contact--as it relates to them. Nor will a reporter be any less for not reproaching the interviewee with the facts, but instead suggesting to the viewer or reader whether or not the statements heard conform to the truth.

[Question] But where is the limit?

[Answer] That always depends on the individual. It has already occurred that I called to congratulate the president of the National Statistical Office because when badgered by a radio reporter he answered something to the effect that, "I am perfectly willing to give a statement, but you are unprepared and not sufficiently familiar with the subject."

[Question] In the event of the opposite case, have you also called journalists?

[Answer] Naturally. I follow the work of my fellow journalists with great interest and consider it my responsibility to support valuable and useful activities. And I side with bravely and resolutely working reporters. I am at all times prepared to come to their defense.

[Question] Nor is it easy for the journalist to hold his ground. In your opinion, to what extent is the journalist, who must be satisfactory in almost a million respects, the dramatic hero of our age?

[Answer] I hope that this does not offend anyone--I wouldn't do so even in thought, but I must say--that I don't consider the journalist the dramatic hero of our day, if there is such a thing. Instead, they would be the economic managers. They are actually fighting a war on several fronts; they are at the mercy of the consequences of unexpected and rapid changes and are directly responsible for decisions made in extremely tense situations. Naturally, the responsibility of the journalist should not be devalued, because their work, in any event, reflects the process and consequences of this struggle, resistance and in certain cases, its failure.

If I might also answer the question with a more general approach, I would say that the true hero of our age is the creative individual, regardless of whether he is an engineer, iron worker, or just happens to be a journalist, who strives to live under any circumstances and who accepts responsibility and sacrifice for progress.

[Question] In your opinion, what could be going on in the mind of the journalist who is preparing a report on an embezzling office messenger who has a 5,000-forint salary with four years of elementary school, while with a higher level degree, language examination and several years of experience, his salary is only slightly more or not even more?

[Answer] I don't like this comparison at all. If a head bookkeeper or an economic manager are stealing together with the office messenger, then you would necessarily consider his salary unjustly high. There will never be a

remedy for this and this sort of extreme case does not adequately portray a truly burning social strain. I beg your pardon, but this is not a good example; this is demagoguery! As it happens, the settling of the journalists' salary has been on the agenda for a long time. The responsible organizations--the trade union, MUOSZ [National Association of Hungarian Journalists], and the Office of Information--are ready with a plan which will comprehensively reorganize the situation. As soon as the country's economic resources permit, they will put forward a recommendation enabling the base pay of the journalists to be changed. This is primarily for the very poorly paid strata, i.e., those working in the county and factory presses. Were we not living in such an extreme economic situation, this problem would have been solved long ago. Be that as it may, it cannot be delayed for long. Let me repeat that the responsible state and social organizations have this burning issue on the agenda.

[Question] We heard that after your critical remarks at one of the editor-in-chief conferences, a "yellow card" was issued. What does this mean?

[Answer] I wouldn't want to get entangled in this topic at the end of our conversation. However, since you brought it up, I will say that in the given case, the purpose of this expression, borrowed from the sports world, was to lighten the atmosphere and to refer to the comradely and friendly nature of the relationship between the directors and the directed. After all, we all feel that we are serving a common goal. For my part, it was a warning sign that some individuals react too sensitively to legitimate criticism of our work. In the above-mentioned concrete example, it became apparent after the general analysis of the information we received that not only public opinion but also the leadership were uncomfortably affected by writings and programs of certain information forums and editorial staffs which were not carefully thought out and superficial, and which occasionally contained political errors. The topics in question were ones about which we had jointly formulated our standpoint beforehand, and determined the tone to be used, and we had requested that the given subject be approached cautiously, because otherwise it might cause serious harm. This information was mispalced; a few editorial offices acted as though they never received the instructions and the result was a faulty and bad program, a disputable product which the responsible authorities must also oppose in the future, because they perturb the realization of common interests.

[Question] Is it possible that a "red card" will follow the "yellow card"?

[Answer] If we continue to use sport expressions, I believe the answer is yes. Let me repeat once more that the institutions of the mass media are the property of the people and no one has the right to use them to the detriment of the community. Nor are the various spheres of journalism an entailed estate, and if someone becomes unsuitable for this work for whatever reason--health, politics, consistent inattention, indifference--I believe the "red card" is conceivable, from the viewpoint of the responsible "card holders" who issue and take care of the cards.

[Question] What do you think of the journalists' professional aptitude and preparedness?

[Answer] It is gratifying that over the past few years the press has been enriched by an extremely valuable, talented and well-prepared new generation of young people possessing great factual knowledge, political commitment and a thorough knowledge of the language. Many of them have demonstrated their aptitude for solving complicated tasks. At the same time, we must also realize that these youngsters are typically representatives of the "peacetime" generation. Some of them were born around the time of the counterrevolution or shortly after it; therefore, they don't have the appropriate life experiences and battle training. Nor do I wish them those years of struggle, but we must count on the fact that the young guard could not have experienced the contradictions of capitalism first-hand, nor the important and contradictory experiences of the starting phase of socialism. For example, they have no direct experience of an exploitative society, the class struggle, sectarianism or revisionism. Figuratively speaking, this generation is used to sunshine and has never donned battle dress. Consequently, at the slightest breeze in either foreign or domestic politics, they believe the wind is blowing and if the wind is actually blowing, they believe the storm is here and it is the end of the world. The more experienced generation must hurry to their aid. The absence of an intermediate generation represents a serious concern because the training of a new generation was suspended for 10-15 years. A disproportionately great task burdens those over 50 years of age in the professional training of the younger generation. On the whole, I think that the society of journalists is well experienced and prepared in its knowledge and profession. It is prepared for the creative solution of ever newer tasks and enjoys maximal confidence for this. In light of this, we must work in the areas of the mass media which do not present an easy task.

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CSO: 2500/65



PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Piotrkow Trybunalski Reports-Elections Campaign

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

Interview with Mieczyslaw Szulc, PZPR provincial committee secretary in Piotrkow Trybunalski, by Henryk Pawlak

Text Question Comrade Secretary, the reports-elections campaign within the party has begun; how would you describe its basic goals?

Answer First of all, we must assess conscientiously and thoroughly our activity thus far and answer the question of whether we have done everything to strengthen the party, thereby gaining social trust and raising the party's authority. We must do this from the perspective of ideological principles presented in the documents of the 13th Plenum. In this campaign, we will be concerned with developing even greater dialogue with the workers class and with farmers as well as with all social communities.

Question How does the provincial echelon in Piotrkow Trybunalski plan to implement this objective?

Answer In the reports-elections campaign, we hope to, above all, intensify activity for ensuring the participation of party members in institutions of social democracy and in organs which implement the political and economic developmental goals of the province. It is a known fact that it is the standard of POP basic party organization work that decides the effectiveness of the ideological-upbringing activity of the party. We must organize party work in a way that would make people see its effectiveness and concrete nature. It is better not to hold meetings, sessions or deliberations if we do not know what we want to accomplish as a result. The closer we are to the people, the less need there is for generalities which obliterate the clarity of words and detract from their basic value. We are concerned with instilling objectivity and responsibility in party work and with establishing the conviction that without criticism and self-control, we will not achieve good results in party activity.

Perhaps you will ask the meaning of criticism and self-control under POP conditions. Perhaps it is the following: to ask a party member why he did

not take a stand when in his presence someone swayed from the truth and attacked the party; why did he not comment if he knew that someone was acting improperly? I also believe that in practice our activity needs a larger dose of simple kindness, understanding and sincerity. People are closely watching the kind of interrelationships we, party members, have and frequently judge us on this basis.

Question On the basis of what you are saying, it appears that you place a great deal of importance on ideological and social factors in party activity.

Answer Of course. After all, this arises from the very nature of the leading role of the party in a socialist society, and the goals which the party places before itself deal with the creation of a new social reality as well as progress and growth for the entire nation. That is why we are hoping that the present reports-elections campaign will help us to expand beyond the field of intraparty activity and onto the open expanse of social masses; onto working multitudes. We cannot concentrate only on ourselves but as party members we must serve society and turn to it for assistance in how to do this in the best way possible.

The campaign about which we are speaking should help in solving some important economic, communal, social and community problems in our province. Therefore, during its course, we plan to consult with the members of our party about the draft of the socioeconomic plan for next year--the provincial draft plan as well as the plans of particular towns and gminas and even those of village administrator's offices. In this way, we will create the possibility of an exchange of opinions on a broad social scale concerning problems which directly concern all residents of the province. We already know right now that people will be talking about such issues as housing and municipal construction, road construction, communication and commerce. However, at the same time we want to stimulate discussions concerning increasing industrial production, particularly market production, increasing work productivity and discipline in plants as well as increasing the degree of economizing and rationalization.

We should not avoid difficult issues in these discussions and we must take them on and solve them with the participation of a broad spectrum of society. Genuine social acts on behalf of society and work competitiveness in plants are just examples of the concrete activity which we should propose today, under the new conditions.

Question At the beginning of our discussion, you mentioned the need for assessing past activity and reflecting on the work of the party in the passing term of office of its authorities. What can be said on this subject with respect to party activity in your province?

Answer In our party organizations and echelons, we have accepted as a point of departure for our decisions and activity the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, the implementation of decisions made at Central Committee plenary sessions and those of our provincial echelon. As is generally known, all of these were aimed at restoring party ties with the workers class and with society as a whole as

well as restoring ideological, intellectual and organizational initiatives in all spheres of social, political and economic life.

The assessment to date of the course and results of our work points to evident, marked progress in the strengthening of the party and in the cleansing of its ranks; in their [ranks] cohesiveness and discipline; in ushering statutory principles into practice and in the rebirth of ideological life. We stood up in open battle against the adversaries of socialism, against the violation of principles of socialist justice and against social pathology. I believe that the growth of party strength and the systematic strengthening of its influence within the workers class makes it possible to take on this struggle. Its effects are evident.

The decline of industrial production was halted and conditions arose for better and more productive work in enterprises. The process of economic discipline which was begun last year and which is continued currently, in connection with the ushering in of economic reform mechanisms, leads to systematic overcoming of the difficulties of the crisis and its problems. An expression of the stabilization of the economy is the rise in industrial production which has maintained itself since last year. The systematic lowering of import intensiveness and improvement in work organization and the quality of production have become permanent elements of work of a large group of enterprises in Piotrkow, Tomaszow, Radomsk, Opoczno and Belchatowo as well as in other provincial centers.

In the field of social life, there also exist positive changes which are expressed by the development and strengthening in our province of elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which are beginning to make their presence known more markedly in public life. The process of establishing new trade unions is also proceeding satisfactorily. We are placing a great deal of importance on the activity of socialist youth unions; it is our belief that both the present and the future of the province and of the country will depend to a large degree on the attitude and commitment of the young generation of Poles.

[Question] How were the preparations for the reports-elections campaign in the province of Piotrkow carried out?

[Answer] In accordance with the statute and resolution of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, our campaign was launched by the KW [provincial committee] plenum which took place on 20 October. We prepared ourselves for it with great care. The active work of eligible members of party echelon authorities and organizations as well as that of instructive-consultative teams, which assisted all gmina echelons between February and July of this year, contributed to these preparations in great measure. The work of the audit committee and of the WKKP [provincial party control committee] as well as that of their regional elements also had its significance. This work led to thorough and critical reports which assessed the work of all gmina echelons in the province. A similar method of work was adopted toward larger plant organizations by party echelons in cities. We have also completed a cadre review of the party apparatus, and thereby an objective evaluation of the usefulness of every worker in political work.

The preparations for the reports-elections campaign will also be served well by the work of the binary plenary KW session on the subject of the complex problems and tasks of the provincial party organization in the strengthening of unity and cohesiveness within party ranks. Thus, the provincial party organization, which numbers 41,000 members, enters into the campaign well aware of its accomplishments thus far and its shortcomings, ideological goals and plans. Nearly 2,800 meetings and conferences will take place in our province shortly. Thousands of delegates to higher level conferences and hundreds of party authority members will be chosen here. Naturally, the theme of these meetings will be of the greatest importance: the proper assessment of the sociopolitical and economic situation as well as valid recommendations for future work.

#### Unions Affect Local Administration

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

Text The several months of activity which accumulated many observations and remarks as well as their share of work experiences for the union members of the Trade Union of Brewery Plant Workers in Lezajsk also made it possible to concretize opinions with regard to the development of the union movement.

"We do not want to remain on the sidelines of the life and work problems of our country's brewers," says Jozef Czwakiel, chairman of the union. "That is why for several weeks now our union has been concerning itself with the issue of creating federations related to our unions. After preliminary discussions on the subject of what a federation ought to be and what role it should play with respect to particular unions, as well as after an initial description of its goals and tasks, we began discussing the draft plan of the statute. In creating a federation of brewers' unions, it is our primary aim to establish a strong trade representation as well as to strengthen the bond between breweries which would yield fruit in the form of, among other things, mutual assistance in maintaining proper production rhythm. The brewery in Lezajsk, for example, is not an independent plant in terms of raw materials. We lack a malt-house, which frequently causes many problems with production. Therefore, good, sound cooperation with a brewery that has one would be very desirable. We are also expecting quite a lot from the future federation in terms of activity for the benefit of developing the rest and recreation base.

"The creation of such a federation by no means overshadows the current problems with which the work force of brewery plants concerns itself. We are, for example, working on developing a new code of regulations for assistance by plants in the construction of housing. This is necessary if only for the fact that a plant housing cooperative has been put into effect. We are, therefore, looking into the possibility of granting housing loans and having those workers who are involved in construction take advantage of plant transport, etc.

"We are also getting back to the proposals and recommendations submitted to management by the work force. In general, they are reviewed and dealt with within the means of the plant. Every day, of course, constitutes normal statutory activity. It must be admitted that management places a great deal of importance on the opinion of the union, which is expressed on issues concerning the plant as well as with respect to specific people. Together with management, we will soon begin to ponder over the question of whether the profit worked out by the plants will suffice for beginning the construction of an apartment building and the expansion of a rest and recreation center in Brzoza Krolewska."

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After the formal suspension of trade union activity, and in reality much earlier (from August 1980), the State Work Inspectorate [PIP] lost an important ally. Earlier, when campaigns of a political nature were not pushed to the forefront of union activity, there were nearly 2,000 activists in the plants of Tarnobrzeg Province who specialized in the social supervision of working conditions. Annually, they would hand out approximately 20,000 recommendations and notices regarding bhp [Industrial safety and hygiene]. Naturally, this placed a larger task before the State Work Inspectorate.

This is what the senior PIP work inspector in Tarnobrzeg, engineer Aleksander Golebiowski, says on this subject:

"I supervise more than 11 industrial plants, including such powerful ones as the Sulfur Mines and Processing Plant, Grzybow Sulfur Mines, Ozarow Cement Works and the Tarnobrzeg Industrial Construction Enterprise. It is, to be sure, difficult to make generalizations, but I can most assuredly state that as a result of the economic crisis and the related shortage of foreign exchange currency, the depreciation of machinery is progressing, and this has a very unfavorable effect on working conditions.

"My colleagues and I are faced more and more frequently with the situation whereby, strictly speaking, not only particular machinery and installations but also entire plants ought to be shut down. A classical, so to say, example of this is the Ozarow Cement Works. During a periodic inspection, I found that in the area where cementation takes place in this plant, there occurred the danger of a coal dust explosion as a result of the failure of a series of control-measuring installations. Twice before, small explosions did take place, however. What were we to do? The cement works is a large and important industrial plant and its production is socially indispensable. At the same time, without a cementation department the exploitation of the remaining areas of the plant is out of the question. The management of Ozarow tried to correct the situation earlier; however, this was done very slowly. It was necessary to bring matters to a head and shut down the cementation department. This in turn led to a sudden increase in interest not only on the part of the cement plant management, but also of the union and even scientific research institutes, in improving work safety. The action taken up by them made it possible for me to suspend my order until the end of December. If up to that time a radical improvement in work safety does

not take place, the entire plant will be faced with the necessity of interrupting production.

"This as well as many other examples prove that social work inspection is indispensable. I was pleased by the new law of June of this year regarding this inspection because it confirms the high level of importance of these problems and expands the authority of social inspectors. As far as I know, thus far only the KiZPS [Sulfur Mining and Processing Enterprise] had held an election of 50 social work inspectors, who are already engaged in this activity. In accordance with the new law, which states that only trade unions can control social inspection but that it is not their organ, these functions were entrusted to union members as well as to nonunion members. Simply stated, the best skilled workmen who are known for their concern for people and who enjoy a sense of authority among the work force were chosen.

The provincial informational-consultative team which is affiliated with the WRN [Provincial People's Council] has initiated a series of meetings in all districts during which discussions are held with union activists on the subject of problems related to the selection of social work inspectors. For us, these are outright indispensable coworkers and that is why, from as early as August of this year, we have been providing guidance in the area of the principles of selection and activity of social work inspectors. Our office is located at Wyspianski 12 in Tarnobrzeg (room 15, telephone: 22-48-40); it is open to social work inspectors as well as to all union activists every Monday from 7:30 am to 3 pm."

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Independence is a crucial element of union freedom. At the same time, it remains the leading topic of many animated discussions in working communities. On various occasions, the following questions are asked: Is the revived trade union movement genuinely independent, what guarantees are there of this and to what extent can union organizations make use of them wisely and effectively? Therefore, let today's commentary be an attempt at answering these questions.

The principle of independence means that trade unions are in no way dependent on the chief and regional organizations of the state administration (Council of Ministers, ministers, governors, mayors, city and gmina managers) or on the economic or plant administration. These organs cannot in any way influence the substance of union activity and are legally obligated to refrain from all activity which would lead to the limiting of union independence or functioning in accordance with the law. Independence understood in this way is an indispensable guarantee of the unrestrained carrying out by unions of their functions as representatives and defenders of workers' interests and rights. Independence is also guaranteed in the legal assurance of the possibility of creating unions without the need for obtaining any kind of

prior permission from the administrative organs. The situation is not changed by the obligation to register in court, something which is not always properly understood. The court does not give out permission to create a union but only registers the fact of its founding; prior to this it carries out an investigation to determine whether the organization applying for registration is really a trade union and whether the statute passed by its members-founders is concordant with the laws of the PRL Constitution, the trade union law and other laws. At the moment of registry in the court, the union only acquires a legal status as well as the right to carry out its activity. In reality, however, the union begins its existence from the moment that its founders adopt an appropriate resolution, the selection of a founding committee and the passing of the statute.

The outcome of the principle under discussion is that within the framework of their statutory activity, both internal as well as external, unions are not subject to surveillance and control from administrative organs such as, for example, social organizations which operate on the basis of the law on associations. Organs of the administration cannot influence the substance of union activity by administering guidelines or by giving out directions; by changing, ratifying, suspending or repealing laws or other intra-party acts or suspending union activity or terminating its existence. They also cannot demand reports on union activity, conduct analyses and evaluations of union activity or control this activity in other ways. The same principles apply to organs of the economic administration such as, for example, plant managers, who also do not have the right to supervise or control the statutory activity of unions. All attempts at interfering with this activity on the part of the economic administration on whatever level would represent an outright violation of the provisions of the law on trade unions.

The principle of independence is very closely tied to the principle of equality which grants to all unions, regardless of their size, sphere of unionized workers, regional sphere of activity, etc., the same rights and equal treatment by state organs. All trade unions exercise their legally granted rights to the same extent and in the same manner. It is inadmissible for state organs to treat individual unions differently--these organs cannot show preferential treatment for some while discriminating against other union organizations.

One of the consequences of the principle of independence is, among other things, the legal regulation of fundamental relations between unions and state organs. Union rights create appropriate obligations on the part of state organs. The model of partnership-like cooperation between unions and the administration which was entered into the new union law is regarded as being the most socially well founded. However, legal controls in this regard should not be overestimated. The effectiveness of the functioning of the adopted model will be determined in principal measure by the actual arrangement of power which will be expressed on the one hand by the observance of union rights and by the administration's conscientious fulfillment of its obligations toward the union movement, and on the other side by the unions' ability to shape themselves independently and to present working postulates consistently.



## Campaign Activities in Opole

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] Nearly 300 branch and basic party organizations in Opole Province have already held reports-elections meetings. However, this number is not enough (scarcely over 10 percent of the total number of OOP's [branch party organizations] and POP's [basic party organizations]) for across-the-board recommendations, but sufficient for preliminary, general observations. Attendance at meetings is, unfortunately, low (taking into account the organizations' most important meetings during their 2 and 1/2-year term of office). There are, of course, instances of 100 percent attendance, but on the average approximately 70 percent of OOP and POP members take part in meetings. As has been the case until now, every fourth organization elects a new first secretary, while in the remaining organizations this function to serve another term of office is relegated to the present secretaries. Discussion at the meetings is not as animated as during the 1981 campaign but in general it is also neither boring nor "patted down." The meeting participants voice their opinions primarily on intraparty and ideological subjects, which is undoubtedly influenced by the 13th Central Committee Plenum. The necessity of upholding at all times the principle of ideological, political and economic unity is emphasized. At the same time, party members, especially in workers' organizations, point out the as yet numerous deviations from this principle and illustrate this with local examples. Many critical comments pertain to the economic reform and, in reality, to the ways in which it is implemented, and this is usually in one's own backyard. The subject of wages and prices is also raised in the discussions. Party member workers say that all the possibilities of lowering costs are still not being made use of and that there still continues to be too much improvisation in work management and organization.

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At some meetings, POP members come out with all kinds of production and social initiatives. For example, the rural POP in Jelowa came out with the proposal of building, with community effort, a gymnasium at the local school as well as a sidewalk in the rural community. The POP members in Dabrowka (gmina of Lubniany) have committed themselves to help the firemen in the building of a rural fire station. The POP in Slawice (gmina of Dabrowa) decided to initiate the appointment of a rural PRON division. The participants at the meeting of OOP No 2 in the Provincial United Hospital in Opole came out with a proposal to prepare a report on the state of the health of Opole residents and its protection.

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In several organizations, new PZPR candidates were chosen at their reports-elections meetings. This occurred in, among others, the POP in the WZGS [Provincial Association of Gmina Cooperatives] Agricultural Plant in Kluczborek and in the OOP at the Institute of Political Science at the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] in Opole, which grew by two new party candidates.



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A reports-elections meeting was also held in the POP of our newspaper's editorial staff. Editor Tadeusz Bednarczyk, head of the sociocultural department of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, was again elected first secretary.

From the party presses: In its permanent column, "The Secretary's Manual," the 22nd issue of ZYCIE PARTII carries a thorough study by Witold Glowacki entitled "How to prepare and conduct a POP reports-elections meeting." This study contains information and methodical advice which is indispensable for the efficient conducting of an OOP and POP meeting in accordance with the PZPR Statute and the "Provisional Election Code." This material also provides information about the kind of action which should be taken up by the new executive boards of these organizations so that from the very beginning their activity may be characterized by a great deal of energy.

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At last week's plenary session, the PZPR provincial audit commission WKR assessed the activity of basic level party audit commissions. It was stated in the paper of the WKR presidium that "...the present term of office was, for the majority of the commissions, industrious and productive. However, the efforts exerted by the commissions varied." In this regard, the WKR presidium divided the regional commissions into three groups. "We assess the work of the commissions in Baborow, Lesnica, Zebowice and Skoroszyce to be below expectations and needs," states the paper. The middle group included commissions from Ujazd, Biala, Byczyna, Niemodlin, Cisk, Jemielnica, Komprachcice, Korfantow, Lasowice, Lubsza, Olszanka, Popielow, Polska Cerekwia and Glucholazy. "They carry on unsystematic but all in all positive work." The remaining commissions were included in the largest group, whose work was evaluated as "exceptional."

On the basis of an analysis of the work of regional commissions, the WRK presidium determined that "the role and place of audit organs have become generally accepted in the awareness of the party aktiv and especially in that of the executive organs of echelons. Committee secretaries rarely share that view because the audit commissions bother them." In spite of this, it is stated elsewhere: "Supervision is reluctantly taken up in basic level committees. The attention of the commissions is in many instances focused solely on POP's." Are they apprehensive, after all, about not disturbing the secretaries or, what is worse, about not irritating them with post-inspection comments?

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At their Wednesday session, the members of the Ideological Commission of the KW PZPR listened to information about the activity of party members in the union movement. They also heard Capt Henryk Latkowski from WAP Military Political Academy give a lecture about some of the problems amidst the

achievements of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. The commission also recommended the updating of the plan of action of the provincial party organization which was worked out after the July provincial committee ideological plan and also that it be supplemented with tasks arising from the resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

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The date for holding the ideological conference on "Marxism and the Modern Age" was rather poorly timed by its organizers, since on the Friday before All Saints' Day people had a lot of more mundane matters on their mind. Therefore, the large hall of the KW was only half filled and even this was due mainly to the group of young people (students?). Some out-of-town speakers allegedly could not make it because of a shortage of reserved seat tickets for trains. After the intermission, the group of participants went to a smaller room--by that time, practically only the authors of the prepared papers remained, and not all of them at that. Comrade Stanislaw Sojka, a worker from Agromet [Agricultural Machinery Factory] in Brzesk and member of the KW Ideological Commission took part in the discussion by appealing for, among other things, the contents of Marxist studies to be made accessible to wider spheres of workers. However, before this can happen the truth that popularizing and disseminating work is no less responsible than basic research work must reach academic circles.

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Many party members are asking about the special issue of NOWE DROGI which contains the so-called Kubiak Report. As it turns out, of the 60,000 issues destined for Opole Province, only about 600 issues were allotted. Of this number, 400 were sent to newsstands while only 200 will be distributed through party channels. Thus, there will not be enough for everyone.

#### Campaign Progress in Basic Organizations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ad, bu, kk, kl): "Responsibly and Critically About What We Have Done and What We Must Do"]

[Text] The reports-elections campaign within the party has been continuing for 2 weeks now. Meetings and conferences are currently being held in groups as well as in branch and basic party organizations. The natural background and, at the same time, inspiration for assuming particular themes in the discussions at the meetings are the topics and results of the recent 13th Central Committee Plenum. During the meetings of party organizations and echelons which function in large industrial plants, our comrades have been devoting quite a lot of attention to production matters. Very frequently they also concentrate on the problem of the currently growing threat to world peace.

## There Can Be No Passiveness

On 31 October, reports-elections meetings were concluded in the PZPR plant party organizations in the Nowy Wirek mine in Ruda Slaska.

The activity in the past term of office was summed up and group leaders as well as their representatives were chosen.

The discussions at the meetings dealt with, above all, the problems associated with the strengthening and further activation of the activity of party groups and OOP's. Those members who are passive, who do not become adequately involved in the work of their own POP or in social work on plant premises, were also made accountable. It was stressed that the party cannot be indifferent toward even the slightest human problems since assistance in solving them is one of the party's major tasks.

The implementation of the conservation and anti-inflationary programs was also summed up. The responsibility of the party for the development of the union movement in the plant was pointed out. Concern for world peace was expressed. The meetings were also used to convey to party members current information pertaining to the present sociopolitical situation in the country.

## The Need for Accurate Intraparty Information

In the Czerwona Gwardia mine in Czeladz, as of yesterday, 18 of the 31 OOP's which are active there held their meetings. It is expected that the reports-elections meetings in branch organizations will conclude on the 8th of this month November. That is when the meetings of the local POP's, which will be summed up at the plant conference on the 25th of this month, are scheduled to begin. The issues which have moved decidedly into the forefront of the discussions thus far are production matters and shortages in materials supply. The miners point out, for example, that machines and equipment cannot be reconditioned forever. Therefore, new shipments of replacement parts and machinery are needed. On the other hand, the supply flow of work clothes, which has improved considerably from last year, was assessed positively. The meeting participants also raised the issue of intraparty information. They stressed the need for its greater accuracy and, above all, greater speed with which it is relayed.

## Consistent Accounting of Tasks

A series of reports-elections meetings was also concluded in the Gliwice mine.

Much of the discussion on reports was devoted to interhuman relations. Because the events of the past several years have led to division among the work force, the party must activate itself through work on strengthening itself. In order to accomplish this, it is first necessary to bring together the members of party groups and OOP's by undertaking joint (also with nonparty members) initiatives for the benefit of the plant. The necessity of assigning tasks to each party member and making them strictly accountable for

their implementation was proposed. In addition, the implementation of resolutions and recommendations made by organizations must be treated with total responsibility and consistency.

#### To Protect World Peace

Three party groups comprise the POP of Drilling Machinery Plants in Sosnowiec. Each one of them has already held its reports-elections meetings. Currently, they are preparing for a POP meeting which is being planned for 10 November. It appears from the discussions within the groups that the basic topic at the POP meeting will be issues pertaining to the work force and the plant, which continues to struggle with considerable difficulties, such as the constant exodus of cadres due to the relatively low wage level and outdated production conditions. The latter are due to the fact that ZMUW [Drilling Machinery Plants] is 100 years old and the majority of machines and equipment have depreciated a long time ago. The issue of passing from under the care of the Central Office of Geology [CUG] and over to the Ministry of Mining was raised heavily. The possibility of acquiring the means for indispensable modernization was perceived in this. Much attention was also devoted to the matter of the threat to world peace and especially the threatening challenge of the American administration, which has begun the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

#### Together with Nonparty Members

The campaign in the branch party organizations [OOP] has already begun in the Zygmunt Steelworks in Lagiewniki.

The discussants are forming opinions on the problem matter of production and pointing out the possibilities of making improvements in work organization. Many of the remarks made pertain to the specifics of the wage incentive system which is currently being implemented in the enterprise.

The significance of properly executed individual party tasks for the functioning of the party in the plant is being emphasized. The issue of work aimed at increasing PZPR ranks in the steelworks occupied much of the discussion. Those comrades who have participated in the meetings have stated that the acquisition of new members cannot be forced. The decision to join the PZPR must result from a personal declaration by each person. This does not mean, of course, that propaganda work in this respect should be abandoned.

In the discussions, there was a show of concern for the development of the plant element of PRON. "It should become," said the discussants, "a genuine forum of cooperation between party and nonparty workers for the good of the plant."

#### Expectations and Concern for the Cadre

In the Konstal Steel Construction Production Plant in Chorzow, our comrades have only held two POP meetings. However, starting today things are

progressing much more quickly. Up until the 16th of this month, there will be two meetings held every day. What is worth noting is the high attendance at the meetings--nearly 100 percent. This indicates the great need for sincere, unhampered discussion. For example, during the meeting of the OOP in the Department of Bridge Construction, attention was focused on materials shortages and the difficulties of intradepartmental transport. The rather low wages of the cadre were also discussed. This leads to the phenomenon whereby, out of concern for their wage level, good skilled workmen are all of a sudden reluctant to assume managerial functions. In turn, during a reports-elections meeting of the OOP of administrative workers, there was discussion about, among other things, the necessity of increasing party discipline. In the passed resolution, the topic of party training was also raised, including the focusing of more attention on the form of self-training of party members within the framework of the so-called self-training teams.

In Bielsko-Biala Province, the last reports-elections meetings are being held in the branch party organizations and, at the same time, the first POP meetings are beginning in plants and institutions, among others, in Plant No 12 of the Small Liter Automobile Factory in Skoczow and in Befared of Bielsko.

During the OOP meeting of the weaving department in the Finex Woolen Industry Plants in Bielsko-Biala, production and wage issues moved to the forefront of discussions, as did problems of vital importance to the factory which involve the ensuring of replacement parts for looms. The need for activating ideological training in the party organization was also discussed.

At the OOP meeting in the finishing department of this enterprise, most of the attention was focused on social issues of the work force and especially on improving transportation for workers on free Saturdays.

At the OOP meetings in the Indukta Electric Machinery Plant, the issue of implementing anti-inflationary and conservation programs in the factory was raised, as were ideological problems, particularly at work, with younger party members. Indignation was expressed on the subject of the excessive accumulation of wealth by some groups in society, especially merchants and private businessmen, and the ineffective counteraction of this phenomenon by revenue services and the Treasury Department.

In Czestochowa Province, the meetings of party groups have already ended in Kalety, Praszka, Poraj, Wozniki, Ciasna, Kochanowice and in Pawonkow.

After the reports-elections campaign, there are also basic party organizations from the following gminas: Dabrowa Zielona, Ciasna, Kochanowice and Lelow. In the next few days, POP meetings will end in Kalety, Pajeczna, Zarki, Gidlo, Konopiski, Kruszyna, Przystajnia and Strzelce Wielkie.

According to the campaign schedule in Czestochowa Province, the meetings of branch groups and basic party organizations will conclude by mid-November,

while PZPR plant and gmina conferences will be held by 10 December of this year.

The main topic of discussion in the smallest elements of party activity are intraorganizational issues and the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress as well as documents of the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

Yet another subject was added on yesterday: the issue of reinstating the rationing of fats. The majority of those who voiced an opinion on this subject do not question the decision, but its implementation does give rise to reservations.

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CSO: 2600/328

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Developments

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 15 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "The Second Provincial Conference of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in Gorzow; Direction of Future Activity"]

[Text] During the reports-election campaign in Zielona Gora Province, the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] enrolled 1,000 new members. This is a very significant event, proof that this organization is growing and reforming its cells in places where the not too distant past its status in the community was diminished because of uncongenial activity. In the first half of this year alone, membership increased from 42,142 to 43,047, and the number of school TPPR circles increased from 251 to 268. The society's revived activities in the schools is especially important because during the past several years young people have been subjected strongly to the influence of enemy propaganda. Thus, conditions must be created so that young people can learn the history of Polish-USSR friendship and cooperation and to educate them in a spirit of friendship to our eastern neighbor.

This was discussed at yesterday's Second Provincial TPPR Conference which was held in the Construction Vocational School hall and attended by 116 delegates and many honorary guests. Edward Mieczak, chairman of the Inter-River TPPR city-gmina organization, chaired the deliberations. Earlier the delegates were handed a complete set of reports and program material, and so a report on the 4-year term of office was waived. Florian Zatajczak, chairman of the outgoing TPPR ZW [Provincial Administration] and PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] first secretary, delivered a short introduction to the discussions. He emphasized that, in their difficult work, the ZW and its many cells had the material and comradely support of experienced and reliable activists during this entire period. During this time, many tested forms of the organization's activities took place, such as language contests and competitions, Soviet film festivals and cordial meetings with Soviet people--USSR lecturers, Komsomol members and officers of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army. The organization collaborates daily with the USSR consulate in Szczecin.

During the extensive discussion, many delegates and guests spoke out. Stanislaw Kutermanski spoke about the need to overcome the indifferent

attitudes of many communities and the need to improve the working conditions of the region's activists which often lack even the most modest premises. Zenon Kubus of Debna raised a similar problem concerning premises. He also directed a critical comment to the TPPR ZG regarding the lack of a response to the postulates that were submitted earlier by the community he represents. Jan Dabrowski of Mysliborz gave an example of an important TPPR function, that is, the TPPR's assistance to Soviet citizens who are seeking the graves of their loved ones who died in battle on our land. And Longina Walesiak of Choszczna suggested an interesting idea: a city-gmina children's festival of Soviet songs.

Antoni Maslo, PZPR KW secretary, was a conference guest who took part in the discussions. He spoke of the importance the party attaches to the TPPR's work.

Stefan Szymanski, president of the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee], and Jan Gawel, SD WK secretary, also participated in the meeting, giving sincere greetings to the conferees.

In referring to the October Revolution anniversary that was celebrated not too long ago, Igor Basharin, consul of the USSR consulate in Szczecin, spoke about the accomplishments of those 66 years and the USSR's efforts to make peace permanent. Stefan Nawrot, secretary general of the TPPR ZG, referred to the material and the discussions and informed those in attendance of the status of preparations for the 11th National TPPR Congress.

The conference congratulated the outgoing administration and elected a new 50-member administration, a 10-member Revision Commission and 11 delegates to the national TPPR congress. The TPPR ZW immediately held a plenary session and elected a presidium. Florian Ratajczak was reelected TPPR chairman and Leszek Sliwa was elected secretary.

The conference passed a resolution designating future directions of activity.

#### Olsztyn Party Echelon Activities

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 18 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Bogdan Miller: "From the Activities of Party Echelons"]

[Text] The executive board of Olsztyn's KM [City Committee] meets twice a month per schedule; this does not include, of course, extraordinary meetings. Special attention is paid to the so-called field meetings that are held at selected workplaces. One such meeting was held at the PGM [Housing Management Enterprise]. It concerned the evaluation of the local POP [Basic Party Organization]. The evaluation was the realization of one of the points of the resolution of the KM conference.

#### The Commission

The control commission, whose members consist of comrades from the workplaces and local party organizations, approached the theme very earnestly.



On the basis of preparatory work, the thesis concerning conducting investigations of problems were determined. The evaluation encompassed problems concerning the status and distribution of the party's strength, and the activity of the intraparty organizations in the enterprise. The party membership at the PGM is very low, barely 4.3 percent. In 5 out of 15 departments there are no party members. The greatest reservation made by the commission concerned the functioning of the POP. The plan of action takes into account a number of problems concerning economic, day-to-day living and organizational problems as well as ideological-political training and cooperation with the trade unions and worker council problems; and these actions are being implemented. For example, during the martial law period at the POP initiative a social commission was formed whose members include workers who belong to the trade unions and those who do not. The activity of this commission should end, and its work should be assumed by the trade unions. The enterprise's economic and financial status were also analyzed thoroughly (with special attention paid to the low average wage). In addition, the difficulties the enterprise struggles with day after day was also characterized, and they are not small. For example, the planned remodeling of the housing units cannot be accomplished because of a lack of replacement accommodations; the centralization of registration at the City Office is not possible because the true number of tenants in the housing units cannot be discerned; the technical equipment is inadequate and is being constantly diminished; there is a shortage of heaters, tires, batteries, special equipment to haul trash and so forth. These problems as well as the proposals contained in the composite report were presented by the KM executive board, the executive board and Bohdan Michniewicz, secretary of the PGM administration and PZPR KM secretary in Olsztyn.

#### Discussion

The low percentage of party membership is disturbing. Marian Michalak, a member of the KM executive board, strongly emphasized the need to change this situation. Turning to the members of the POP executive board, he said: "You must work to encompass all workers. Agitation and sociopolitical activity should be increased."

One can see that the enterprise is doing its tasks well. The city is clean, there is concern about order. But the report indicates that the average wage is positively too low for such heavy work.

Tadeusz Wronka, KM secretary, said: "Such a small number of party members in the enterprise can be disturbing indeed. However, means of correcting this situation must be found. For example, the lack of visual propaganda was obvious to me. In this connection, I propose to obligate the POP to develop a program of action in this area. It also is obvious that the traditional forms of party training are not working. And thus here is a second proposal: new forms must be developed jointly with the City Center for Ideological-Propaganda Work [MOPIW] to encompass a greater number of workers. And thus it follows that the KM and MOPIW must work closely with the executive board."

The implementation by the enterprise of the proposals and postulates submitted by the public is a sore point. They include the remodeling of housing units, administration activity, and drawn-out bureaucratic procedures. In association with this question, Sylwester Matyka posed the question: "Has the party organization analyzed these matters, and are they reviewing them now?" Eugeniusz Pacewicz, POP first secretary, gave an affirmative reply: "We are interested in that which concerns us and what people write about us as a firm. According to the plan, we will hold a party meeting very shortly to discuss these actual problems. Concerning the other problems, we are expanding training to include division directors and people performing social functions. All in all about 50 people are involved. We are holding discussions and propagandizing. We also are disturbed about the low average wage. We have brought attention to this many times on various occasions, especially since we continue to have fewer people than we need."

"Is that the way it is!" said Adam Malzacki, a member of the KM executive board. "I watched four people work, your workers. It took them 2 days to knock down a single fence. During this time they sat around and gossiped, and the work was done in 4 hours with the aid of a borrowed hatchet. The arithmetic is simple: they worked 16 out of a 48-hour workweek. And how can it be said that you lack 200 or so people? More attention must be paid to your own reserves."

Tadeusz Raczynski, PGM director, nods his head in agreement: "But, that is the way it is. The enterprise is open and it is difficult to maintain discipline. But it is accurate to say that in this regard more has been accomplished in this area than in others. As early as 1979 people who compromised the firm, who did not want to work or who worked poorly were fired, especially garbagemen, gardeners and administration workers. As a result there are fewer and fewer complaints about improper behavior, work attitudes and petitions. But it is obvious that the enterprise receives only complaints. We are never praised for the good work we do, and all shortcomings are visible immediately, perceived by public opinion and criticized."

Then the director presented his greatest worry. "But I would like to turn the attention of the comrades to the following. The status of the housing problem is very bad. In 1979, we had 390 buildings requiring repairs. But the number repaired annually is more or less 3-4 buildings. At such a rate we will need about 136 years to complete the repairs. Thus our appeal for essential help for the city from other firms, especially from the Communal Construction Enterprise [PBK]. It is in the interest of Olsztyn to use all existing production reserves."

Wladyslaw Bukowski, a member of the KM executive board said: "One, of course, must take advantage of the understanding with military personnel about the limited capability for military service. At one time that was done. I also wish to draw attention to the housing administration. This is a basic cell where the citizen makes contact with an official functionary. The proper method for resolving problems frequently depends on the relations of a person to the official functionaries, the authorities and the party in general. The simple truth must be understood that working with people is in part political

work. But it is rare for administrators to feel they are managers of housing under their control. In this situation it is difficult to speak about the proper fulfillment of one's obligations.

Teodor Szczesniak, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] ZM [City Administration] said: "I wish to draw attention to the lack of a youth organization at the PGM, which was emphasized in the commission report. Inasmuch as the POP has taken action in this regard, then it is simply declaring its full support and help to the ZM."

E. Pacewicz said: "It is good that the comrade from the ZSMP raised this problem about youth. But why has not the city organization been interested in this problem until now? Where are the youth activists who should watch over the development of the movement in the city, including, of course, in our own enterprise? Now we as a party are concerned about this, and we will gladly accept the ZM's help."

Piotr Swiderski, the vice mayor of Olsztyn, participated in the meeting. In his opinion, the enterprise is doing well, everything considered. The specifics of its work is such that, as Comrade Bukowski observed, the cell is representative of the PGM and the authorities. Specific pressure must be applied here also. As indicated by the complaints of citizens, the concern here is about trifles, minor repairs and preventive work, about real objective and decent information.

Concerning capital repairs, it is known how many buildings must be repaired immediately. And no one will hurry to do this. Chance occurrences as low priorities in the annual plans. There simply are no housing units in which residents of housing being repaired can be quarters. In the very near future, however, the city will receive 80 units, of which 80 percent are designated as substitute housing. This should improve the situation a little.

B. Michniewicz said: "We can expect an improvement in workers' attitudes. The enterprise itself is being run better. The criticisms now concern only one aspect of its functioning, namely the operations of the ADM [Residential Housing Administrations]. Constant attention is needed here."

"Regarding party matters, to improve the operations of the entire enterprise, we will attempt to increase the number of party members. We will reactivate propaganda, especially visual propaganda, even there where there are no PZPR members; and this is an immediate task."

#### Krakow Party Evaluates Krakow Trade

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 18 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "The Executive Board of the PZPR Krakow Committee Evaluated the Functioning of Krakow's Trade"]

[Text] Evaluating the functioning of Krakow's trade and its improvement under the economic reforms was the theme of the deliberations of the executive board

of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee] which was conducted by Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary. It was ascertained that the public's evaluation of trade is negative, despite the efforts of the trade workers.

The inefficiency of commercial enterprises, the functioning of a "producer's market," and the corset of regulations not applicable to trade specifics were the main reasons for the unsatisfactory improvement in trade operations.

The executive board did not accept all the proposals offered by the UMK [Nicholas Copernicus University] Department of Trade, requiring that they be more specific and that the terms and methods of implementation be specified more precisely for the individual goals. The public is uneasy about the operation of some Polonia companies and shops. Trade party organizations were obligated to analyze the operations of commercial organizations to improve their functioning. The UMK Department of Trade is required to review the commercial network so that it could be used to the maximum extent possible. The operation of Krakow's trade will also be the subject of the deliberations of Krakow's National Council.

The PZPR KK executive board will reevaluate trade operations after the UMK Department of Trade presents its specific proposals to improve the operations of Krakow's trade and individual trade organizations present their proposals for the directions of development that are in accord with the reform and social needs.

#### Comments on Party by Zbigniew Messner

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 18 Nov 83 p 1

[Interview with Prof Dr Zbigniew Messner, member of the Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee], and chairman of the Katowice WRN [Provincial People's Council], by Zbigniew Pelka; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] For Silesia, Krakow has always been a synonym for Polishness. The nearness of the country's ancient capital; the resting place of the Piasts, the Jagiellos and our most eminent countrymen sustained Silesia in difficult times. On the other hand, the people of Silesia have shown us by example how to struggle for national and social rights. The bonds of mutual admiration and respect have always united us. In the past several years this situation changed somewhat, introducing notes of discord into relations between Katowice and Krakow. Perhaps the blame lies mainly with our side. We were jealous of Katowice's privileged economic situation and financial resources for expansion, while Krakow deteriorated for all Poland to see. I do not know, Comrade First Secretary, if you will agree, but I believe that these discords arose for other than economic reasons.

[Answer] It is true that Krakow and Silesia have always been linked by mutual respect and sympathy for one another. These deep roots are historically justified. We are natural partners; we are linked not only by history but by geography and economics as well. Personally, it pains me that this harmony

has been ruffled in the past several years. I would not look for the reasons for this in the economic sphere. I believe that the responsibility for this state of affairs rests with widely accepted myth, a way of looking at the affairs of our region which has little in common with the factual state of things. Of course, Katowice Province has received a great deal of investments. However, they were industrial investments. The people's living standards have not improved. It is true that to attract people to work in the newly built plants, new housing was built. Cities then arose--bedroom communities--such as Jastrzebie where even today there are no schools, nurseries, stores or clinics. Silesia's housing stock was not destroyed during the war. Thus most buildings are old, predating World War II and even World War I. Our traditional building, the so-called familiod, has water faucets in the corridors and outside toilets. Many people live under such conditions even today.

Damage caused by mining operations is a serious problem. At times it takes on dramatic dimensions, such as the threat to Bytom, a city of over 200,000. There is also a shortage of water in the province, and the province has the most cumulative transportation problems. Silesia really has nothing to envy.

Thus there are no objective reasons for the discord which you referred to in the question. On the contrary, all the prerequisites are in place so that our cooperation could be of the most comprehensive nature. I can cite tens and even hundreds of examples of cooperation on the formal level. Even more pleasing are the spontaneous contacts between the social organizations associations and institutions.

[Question] After 1945, the rapid development of our country required that our cities forego their traditional, historically shaped functions. Krakow, maintaining its status as a center for science and culture, was transformed into a large industrial agglomeration. But Katowice became enriched with many schools, theaters, showrooms and galleries. In becoming similar, our cities ceased to complement one another. Competition intensified. Is this widely accepted evaluation true?

[Answer] To put it mildly, those many theaters, showrooms and galleries are a slight exaggeration. The real fact is that the ambition of the province's authorities always was and continues to be to change the one-sided production aspect of the region. We have obtained from Krakow significant help in the activities that we have undertaken here. And if today we can boast about a dynamic academic center which, in addition to the Polytechnic, and medical, economic and physical fitness academies, includes two art academies, then we have only Krakow to thank. I can give more examples of such cooperation in order to come to the conclusion that our cities continue to need one another. And if we begin to compete with one another in some areas, it is all the better for us all.

[Question] I believe that Krakow and Katowice are in such a special situation that everything that divides them today should unite them tomorrow. Leaving aside the well-known example of the superhighway that was constructed individually but not one lane of which has been opened, I would like to ask

you, Comrade First Secretary: what do you think about the Upper Vistula Waterfalls, an extremely important investment. The dams and sluices, which were built at a cost of several hundred million zlotys, in a couple of years will enable the transport by water of 15 million tons of cargo, above all coal. At the same time, however, the construction of the Central Coal Port in Tychy has been delayed. Without this port the water artery that has been prepared at such great cost and much effort will lead nowhere.

[Answer] The construction of the Tychy port is a very important investment for Silesia. The production of coal is increasing, but it turns out that this rich resource cannot simply be transported out of the province. The railroads are completely jammed and the roads are crowded. Thus this port is certainly needed. But we also must face realities. Everyone is aware of our current economic crisis. Among other things, the crisis is such that only important and absolutely necessary things must be done. In August of this year the Council of Ministers decided that this investment would be delayed.

[Question] I will not bandy about the shocking data about the state of Krakow's natural environment, because I know that in your reply, Comrade First Secretary, you can provide information that is just as dramatic. But it is difficult to deny that Krakow public opinion blames the Katowice Industrial District for the near destruction of Ojcow National Park, for transforming the Vistula River into a chemical stream; the public also is angry about sending the poorest quality coal to our heat and power generating plants. Today it makes no sense to exchange recriminations. We must rescue one another. In addition to what each province can do in its own backyard, should not efforts be coordinated?

[Answer] It is true that it makes no sense to exchange these kinds of recriminations. When the Skawina Aluminum Mill was closed down, there was criticism in the province that if Silesia wants to solve the environmental protection problem in this manner then the entire economy will collapse. If we are coresponsible for what is happening to the exquisite Ojcow Park, then it is not because of malice. If the destructive effects are strong where you are, can you imagine what it is like where we are?

We are attempting to take action to limit the devastation of the environment. But it is so difficult that the effects of some actions taken today cannot be known for several years. What I am about to tell you may sound paradoxical to many. Silesia--this "wealthy Silesia" as everyone believes--is in no position to finance on its own a program to protect the environment. In association with this, we believe that inasmuch as the entire country benefits from Silesia's industry, then the entire country should participate in resolving several of the most burning problems without which neither the province nor its industry simply will be able to function normally.

I am very pleased, as indicated by the question, that the residents of Krakow are aware of this fact.

[Question] But Katowice's residents are well aware of the immense tasks that we face in Krakow in the realm of saving the monuments. Silesia joined in

this national duty from the very beginning. We hope that it will continue so. Could you, Comrade First Secretary, sincerely give us some example of cooperation in this area?

[Answer] Several weeks ago we formally signed a document in which we--Katowice Province together with the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry--obligated ourselves, at a cost of 300 million zlotys, to overhaul and renew the Puget Palace that is designated for the Krakow Academy of Music. We have accepted a serious obligation, but I would not emphasize only its material aspect. The concluded agreement is significant in many areas, and it also has symbolic value because it contains an element of that which is basic in Katowice's contracts with Krakow. Mutual cooperation and help, and the complementary functions that our cities fulfill vis-a-vis the nation is the essence of the entire matter.

[Question] The help given us to save Krakow's monuments is a unilateral act for which our city is grateful. Our readers are interested in your opinion about greater cultural and scientific cooperation between Krakow and Katowice; we also are interested in the status of graduates of Krakow's higher schools of technology in this labor market.

[Answer] I am convinced that the entire course of our discussion till now indicates a desire to expand cooperation between Katowice and Krakow. I am optimistic that belief in this cooperation will be evinced not only by the political and administrative authorities but also to an increasingly greater extent by the cultural, scientific and social organizations. Permanent and authentic cooperation can only arise in this way.

Concerning the status of graduates of Krakow's higher technical schools in our labor market, I admit that we have never used such a criterion in evaluating a problem. Engineers are judged on their qualifications and abilities and not where they studied. Also, there is no shortage of Krakow school graduates. I speak about this with a certain unease because my first step in the path of science was taken in Krakow, at the WSE [Higher School of Economics] now the Academy of Economics.

[Question] Returning to the current economic situation, what socioeconomic spheres could profit most during the crisis from extensive cooperation and collaboration between our cities?

[Answer] I would not like to limit this cooperation to the framework of the crisis. The possibilities are extensive, and they require discernment. For example, one could mention scientific cooperation which continues to be inadequate. Silesia not only is a gigantic proving ground for technical ideas but also a huge source of ideas grouped in the schools, the numerous scientific institutions and other research institutions. Also, we should not forget the role Krakow's scientists, especially from the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy, are playing in our region. We will always have a need for their knowledge and experience.



[Question] I believe that much will depend on the mutual collaboration of political and social organizations. There is much positive experiences in this area, but the possibilities are still great.

[Answer] Speaking frankly, it seems to me that the prospects are greater than experienced thus far. Personally I expect to see possibilities above all in contacts between social organizations, primarily scientific and creative ones. After all, such cooperation exists even today. Because of its wide scope and spontaneous character, it is practically impossible to record.

A new potential partner for such cooperation has appeared lately, namely the Patriotic Movement for Rebirth [PRON].

[Answer] Of course. Concerning the specifics of the problems tormenting both great agglomerations, I believe that the PRON's provincial cells will unfurl an exceptionally wide field of cooperation. In truth it is a question that should not be directed to you, Comrade First Secretary, but perhaps you know something more about some kind of interesting PRON initiative?

[Answer] Probably worthy of mention here is a PRON initiative that illustrates beautifully the theme of our discussion. PRON's Krakow cell has declared that it will support the idea of its Katowice counterpart, namely the erection of a Memorial to the Hardships of Mining. Perhaps there is not need to dwell on the need to honor in this way our miner brothers, those now working as well as those of past generations. We are pleased that this initiative has been accepted so quickly by Krakow. On the other hand, I know that the activities of our Katowice PRON have already responded to Krakow's appeal to participate in activities to save the Wieliczka Salt Mines, a magnificent monument. I think that just these two examples--and, of course, I could mention many more--illustrate the true scope of the links between Katowice and Krakow. It is not mythical discords and bitterness, mutual jealousy and unfounded animosity based on rumors, but concrete cooperation, close contacts at all economically and socially important levels that are our joint historical and our present accomplishment.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Reports-Elections Campaign on Touchy Problems

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 2 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by EL]

[Text] On 29 November 1983, the fourth gmina reports-elections conference took place in Zielona Gora. The report coming out of the conference evaluated the past period, the activities of the gmina committee and individual POP's as well as drafted new tasks for gmina activists.

"The past period," stated First Secretary Alexander Gorski, "was characterized by diminishing numbers of members. In 1981, the gmina party organization had 367 members. Today there are 19 POP's with 254 comrades. The tendency toward decline has stopped, but there are not enough candidates to become new party members."

The gmina committee occupied itself not only with the internal problems of the party. Many proposals were received from the gmina organizations. These concerned primarily land use, the functioning of collectives, the apartment problem, the functioning of GS [gmina cooperatives] and the commercial sector, road construction and social issues. Still current problems are communications, the postal system, subsidies to farmers with poor soil, the sewage system and others.

During the last 2-3 years, Zielona Gora has had a lot of problems. Many of these already have been solved, but there is still much to do. Czeslaw Kaczmar, the head of the gmina office, spoke at length about these matters.

The delegates concentrated on problems in their factories and communities. There were also problems that exceeded the capabilities of the factory or gmina.

Jan Roczynski, the chairman of the GS, raised the issue of the size of the trade margin of profit, which currently does not cover costs associated with maintaining the trade network. There has been talk for a long time about changing the structure of the trade margin of profit. However, why did this

discussion among higher levels not include the opinions of basic units? The fundamental problem is the division of the goods mass. Simply stated, the countryside receives too few goods. Jan Roczynski also asked why the banks do not want to grant credits to the cooperatives for capital improvements.

This same delegate asked whether Sanepid is not a state within a state. It is guided by old regulations that in many cases are far from reality. Sanepid's sanitary demands are simply unreal and frequently cause people to lose interest in some initiatives. For example, Sanepid requires the wearing of protective clothing, but the BHP [Industrial safety and hygiene] stores are empty.

Another issue is very sensitive. There is not much fuel, and the telephone connection with Zawada practically does not exist. One has to travel and spend funds. There is not a week without meetings or gatherings. What for? It is necessary to let people work.

There are five agricultural circles in the gmina--PGR [state farms] and private farms. During periods of intensive work in the fields, one has to go out for changeable parts. Frequently they drive--unfortunately--to Gorzow, less frequently to Zagan. The latter is badly supplied. Zbigniew Szymanski, the director of POM in Stary Kisielin, asks about the costs of such journeys to the center of the province, as well as about the loss of time. Why cannot one take of his/her needs in Zielona Gora? Conclusion--an agricultural store should be opened in Zielona Gora.

Another problem brought up by the POM director is preparation of machinery for winter. The farmers really get their goat up over this issue. Preparation of machinery for the harvest is less and less frequent every year. This has resulted from a bad understanding of the principles of economic reform. The farmers started to save under "3S" conditions. But how? The circle began to repair machinery--practically in craftsmen conditions. The result--despite the farmers' preparations for winter, the machinery begins to deteriorate. These problems can be eliminated only through the elimination of certain agricultural regulations by POM.

Stefan Malecki, the director of the Recultivation and Greens Plant in Stary Kisielin, raised a sensitive issue in his answer. His plant produces a net from a special wire. The materials crisis has affected this area. There is less and less wire. The situation today is such that the workers have little to do and the institution is threatened with closing. The plant produces very inexpensive netting. No one takes care of such plants. The wire finds its way to other plants--with "greater piercing strength."

Also Stanislaw Nowak, the head of RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] in Jeleniow, remarked on the materials shortage--starting from the smallest screw. He spoke about the poor quality of machinery.

Otylia Walenciak, recently a private farmer in Zawada, entered the discussion. "The supply of fertilizers was worse than bad. We went to Czerwiensk

because there was not any in Zawada. Sulechow had string, but they did not want to sell us any because we were from another town. Czerwinski was supplied, Sulechow and Zielona Gora also. And Zawada? There is a shortage of everything, even basic materials for construction."

The discussion lasted a long time. Not all of the problems in the gmina were discussed--the majority of conclusions were included in the resolutions adopted by the POP reports-elections meetings.

The conference adopted the resolution. Alexander Gorski also was reelected as first secretary of the gmina committee.

#### Executive Board Campaign on Party

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 2 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by B. Walenski]

[Text] Right now there are only several rural basic party organizations [POP] in Opole Province that have not yet conducted reports-elections meetings. Part of this results from the plan and part from the lack of frequency of meetings before the deadline. Such cases are exceptions, but there are instances when these events cannot be justified only by objective reasons, i.e., the illness or absence of POP members. And after all this is a marginal phenomenon that one cannot take lightly. One also cannot cover the fact of the cancellation of the most important party meetings by the affirmation that compared to last year there is an improvement. Simply stated, the party groups, on whose territory these cases have taken place, should not be interested just in the reasons for insufficient frequency of meetings, but they should also talk openly with their members about the role of POP's in their communities and its obligations toward the entire rural society. This is essential not only for the future of these POP's but also for the party in general.

These discussions, now that there is a new term of office, should take place in all rural party organizations. Much has been criticized about our life. The farmers--and not only they--have reason to complain. But from the information given, it does not seem that they should complain about each other and their work. And one can warn them. And they spoke about the reduction of stock breeding. Too rarely was there a discussion of "let's try it" rather than "impossible." There really is much to do in the countryside, but one needs initiative and self-will. But the meetings were like medicine. After all, party members must take the responsibility for a better way of solutions to problems. And criticism is not always best. The views of party members have been taken too lightly by various types of addressees. A larger offensive is needed to institute concrete proposals. But there are many cases where, if a POP had acted appropriately on proposals, then it would not be taken so lightly.

The observances also concern (alhtough less so) the plant conferences that are coming to an end. Production and social issues generally dominate and

concrete programs have resulted from them. Other conferences cover the basics for party members, ideological work and the principal of socialism.

The first step of the campaign is to consolidate the party, as compared to the situation existing during the last 2 years. This situation has caused a deficiency resulting in the need for greater fighting spirit to mobilize people to think about the future and to overcome previous non-achievement. Simply too often total criticism of the "top" can be compared to "diplomacy" when one is speaking about his/her own community. One must hope that the new campaign--conferences, both city-gmina and gmina--will lead to constructive results and not to a repeat of past ills.

#### PZPR Discussions

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 2 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Włodzimierz Kosinski]

[Text] At the next plenary session of the PZPR provincial committee there will be discussed an estimation of the implementation schedule for a savings and anti-inflation plan as well as party organization tasks in the field of management improvement.

The plenum will estimate the efficiency of work performed by party organizations and the sociopolitical undertakings to resolve economic problems. The importance of the implementation of an anti-inflation and savings plan is the result of goals and tasks stated by the Ninth Party Congress and the 14th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, as well as by the 1983-85 Socio-economic Plan. There is a close correlation between the implementation of a savings and anti-inflation plan and the possibility of overcoming the economic crisis and improving the market supply. This is why these programs must be a part of annual and long-term work plans. This is why the party organizations have devoted so much time to their elaboration. Yesterday, the executive board of the PZPR provincial committee discussed the preparation for a meeting and approved the Executive Board Report and Resolutions.

The next issue of the executive board will be to take under advisement recommendations for improvements in Opole Province as a result of the land inspection report.

The executive board of the provincial committee had charged Opole Province with the task of making socioeconomic reform recommendations for submission by 20 December 1983. These recommendations included various administrative changes and specific responsibilities by all parties involved in task implementation.

The executive authorized the secretariat of the provincial committee to examine these recommendations by 30 December 1983. Also the party executive boards should broaden their current audits of local programs. Up to now, the work in the local areas by party organizations, officers and counsel teams has not been satisfactory.

The executive board of the PZPR provincial committee will call attention to the fact that administrative offices should avoid making a lot of plans for every so-called occasion. The province's program should be the basis for establishing tasks by the units. Also, a system of program consultation, execution, control and evaluation should be worked out. One of the conditions for this program should be a clear definition of the goals to be achieved in various socioeconomic areas.

Thereafter, the executive board of the provincial committee listened to a report on the current reports-elections campaign in the party. The political-organizational department of the provincial committee submitted the information.

#### Inowroclaw Plenum on Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 p 5

[Article by JB]

[Text] Yesterday in Inowroclaw the last plenary session of the PZPR city committee met under the current term in office. The session, chaired by First Secretary Janusz Olszewski, was devoted to confirmation of the reports to be submitted at the 22nd city reports-elections conference. This conference will take place on 9 December at 10 am in the city's concert hall.

The members heard a report on the course of the reports-elections campaign in the 213 OOP's and POP's in the city from Edward Kozliczak. The first secretary has found 63 persons elected for the first time to these positions. A proportionally small number of young people--to 29 years of age--was elected to positions of authority. There are only five among the secretaries and six among the delegates to the city conference. Twenty-five are within the executive board.

There were 196 delegates elected to the city conference. There are 97 workers among the newly elected secretaries. A proportionally small percentage of the newly elected OOP and POP members belongs to trade unions. Discussion at the meeting concerning the campaign was rich and frequently critical, and conclusions and resolutions were many. They should inspire a strong degree of action by the new term of office.

Participants at the meeting became acquainted with and accepted the reports presented to the meeting in the areas of internal party, ideology and propaganda and socioeconomic matters. These reports were presented by Stanislaw Owedyk, Adam Gackowski and Stanislaw Jaworowski.

In closing the session, First Secretary Janusz Olszewski thanked the members of the city committee for their work, emphasizing that the last term in office was an atypical period requiring personal courage, strength and a great deal of dedication. The first secretary also presented diplomas of

recognition to a group of comrades for their especially active party work. Receiving these awards were Jacek Jankowski, Marian Rubak, Jan Grzeszczak, Andrzej Dylas, Henryk Barczak, Hilary Kaczmarek, Jan Boczkowski and Janusz Sypniewski. At a previous session of the executive board, the following members also received awards: Roza Nowak, Henryk Kaczmarek, Edmund Nowaczyk and Jerzy Jankowski. The session ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

After the plenum of the PZPR city committee, there was a meeting of the executive board members and political workers from the Inowroclaw party apparatus with Bydgoszcz First Secretary Zenon Zmudzinski. Bydgoszcz Governor Bogdan Krolewski also participated in the meeting.

Comrade Z. Zmudzinski spoke about the current problems in the provincial party organization and the conclusions resulting from the recent reports-elections campaign. He also cited the sociopolitical and economic situation and preparations for the province's PZPR conference.

#### Campaign on Strengthening Party Authority

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

Text The city-gmina conference in Trzemeszno took place with the participation of 76 delegates representing 836 party members and candidates, among them WKKP Provincial Party Control Commission Chairman Bogdan Nelezyty.

The activities of the delegates were concentrated on working out such a program of action that would mirror the demands, conclusions and aspirations of the society of the city and gmina as well as contribute to strengthening the party. Frequently attention was turned to the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and 12th and 13th Plenums of the Central Committee. The inspirational role of the party in relation to social and professional organizations and to enterprise administrations must grow. The level of ethics among PZPR members always must be extremely high. The farmers see the possibility for increased production through land drainage and development of water systems. The inhabitants of Trzemeszno are uneasy about the state of the natural environment and its influence on the health of current and future generations. The state of cultural development is also weak, despite the creation of a youth club in Trzemeszno for political thought.

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The gmina reports-elections conference in Jeziore Wielkie took place with almost complete participation by the delegates. Leonard Maciejewski, PZPR secretary in Bydgoszcz, also participated.

Thirteen comrades spoke at the session, placing the greater amount of emphasis on the role and tasks of party organizations in agriculture. Above all, this concerns the halting of the decline of pig production in the gmina. They also raised the issue of the large supply shortages in the rural areas.

The participants called for the maintenance of peace in Europe and the world. The appeal was sent to the All-Polish Committee for the Defense of Peace in Warsaw.

Włodzimierz Kwiecinski was reelected first secretary. Szczepan Dabrowski, Bogdan Lisiecki and Bogdan Niedzielski were named conference delegates.

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The plant conference at the Linum Linen Works in Pakosc served as an occasion for a general review of problems such as the economic situation and the enterprise's economic results, the rationalization movement, technical state of the machine park and other issues, e.g., the recent accidents at Linum. Ideological and party matters also were discussed.

The conference participants adopted the POP program for 1984-86, taking into consideration the results of the recent reports-elections campaign within the party organization of the enterprise. They also protested the recent deployment of missiles and resurgence of atomic tensions in West Europe.

The gmina organization in Pruszcz has 402 members and candidates, 68 of whom spoke at the gmina reports-elections conference about their views on the POP campaign and daily actions of the party.

During the discussions, attention was paid to the consolidation of party units, increase of discipline, development of quality, efficiency of party schooling and the consequent implementation of conclusions and demands. Administrative work in the field also was evaluated.

Much criticism was directed toward WOPR /Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress/ service. Agricultural problems are caused by poor supplies of tools and agricultural implements as well as the very poor quality of machinery--especially tractors, combines and reapers. The rising cost of agricultural production means also was discussed.

The work of the gmina committee--as a result of the elections--will be directed by Lech Karas, together with Comrade Antoni Kolano.

Jerzy Topolinski, secretary of the provincial party control commission also participated in the gmina conference in Pruszcz.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

## Municipal Conference on Party Needs

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bogdan Leski, Janusz Swiader]

[Text] The term of the Biala Podlaska party municipal authorities, which began on 5 June 1981, has come to an end. Its results were reviewed at the PZPR reports-elections conference on 3 December. It is worthwhile remembering that the first days of that term were a period of increasing strike madness and anarchy pervading the life of our country. The party was fighting at that time a tough battle for the "to be or not to be" of socialist Poland.

The party, as Jaroslaw Bogucki, PZPR city committee [KM PZPR] first secretary, pointed out in the name of the outgoing executive board, passed a difficult test during its last term. We avoided being shattered and we draw appropriate conclusions from the flogging we got. It was recognized that the most important task is to create conditions for the ideological rebirth of the party; ideological and political tasks of the city organization were also specified.

The problem of strengthening the authority of the party and each of its members individually was strongly emphasized during the discussion.

To be a party member, said Radoslaw Cichocki, KM PZPR propaganda secretary, means to be a part of a group of committed people, devoted to the idea of serving the working classes. The party will be like its basic organizations. They must express the aspirations of society and plant work forces--if they want to count in their enterprises and environments. After all, without social activity nothing can be achieved. And we mean the activity of every party member, not just that of a few activists ready for every work.

On the other hand, in the opinion of Marek Augustynik, chairman of the municipal people's council [MRN], party resolutions that are being passed must be realistic, possible to be realized.

Too often our party has to make unpopular decisions, said Czeslaw Staszczak, PZPR provincial committee [KW PZPR] first secretary, however, as a result, they ensure that basic needs of the population are satisfied. For example, in Biala Podlaska, at the cost of curbing the housing construction, the construction of a hospital is going on better, for which not only the medical services but the entire Biala Podlaska community are waiting.

Changes which take place in the city and province are visible but easily forgotten. Yet, in recent years, many families got new apartments, kindergarten care was ensured for all children, there has been a radical improvement in the state of out-patient medical services. Despite substantial achievements, many times it is asked if it was not possible to achieve more. Not everybody realizes that at the time when our province was created, the first symptoms of the approaching crisis were visible in Poland, so we had to give up in part the ambitious plans we had established for ourselves...

Leszek Czerwinski, a party activist from Osiedle Mlodych [city district], talked about the fact that the party organizations are not always offensive because they count too few workers. He remarked that among the 1984 delegates elected to the city conference, workers constituted only a minimal percentage.

A reflective speech was held by Zygmunt Cichocki, veteran of the workers movement, who was shocked during the last term by cases of refusal to assume responsible party functions.

A constructive, businesslike discussion focused also on matters related to better satisfaction of the necessities of life of the Biala Podlaska inhabitants. Those problems were dominated by housing construction.

Every member of a housing cooperative is upset by the prospect of waiting for his apartment for a dozen or so years. Such a situation is unacceptable, said Jozef Siof, director of the Biala Podlaska Furniture Factories [BFM]. A few years ago, in an attempt to solve the housing problem, BFM finished 130 apartments. Now, the housing cooperative is not interested in this form of cooperation. Is it really unprofitable for them? Once you have a housing factory, obtaining so-called unfinished apartment buildings should not be a problem. Why do they then deny BFM the opportunity to finish these buildings?

Much thought was given during the discussion of the need of speeding up educational projects. The situation in the elementary schools is virtually disastrous. Some schools, e.g., Nos 3 and 5, work on three shifts, said the mayor, Zbigniew Kulakowski. It is necessary to build schools on the outskirts of the city in order to stop bringing children to the downtown schools, demanded Jozefa Matynkowska, member of the Polish Sejm. It is not necessary to build new facilities; old ones can be adapted to educational purposes, said Janina Chrzaniuk, a teacher.

It is also necessary to modernize the store network (we have the poorest network in Poland, said Tadeusz Krasucki, an employee of Provincial Domestic Trade Enterprise [WPHW]). The need to finish as quickly as possible the

construction of the heating pipe from the Białawna works to the Terebelska city district was also stressed. It will supply heat to the furniture factory, too. The project must be finished if we want to expect furniture as a result of our work. In winter, we work in freezing temperatures and that virtually stops our production, said Jan Godziuk, PZPR plant committee KZ PZPR first secretary at BFM.

Participants in the discussion also stressed that it was necessary to synchronize earthworks conducted in town, and to solve quickly and effectively common problems of the people. At the present time, characterized by concern about the future of our country, the dialog between authorities and society assumes special importance. An opportunity for that is created by the movement for national rebirth. It is about the importance of that movement that Henryk Doroszek spoke: "Through the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON we wish to draw many people into work for society..."

Negative aspects of everyday life were also discussed. They can result, among other things, from underestimating the value of work and from an insufficient understanding of discipline ("We underestimate the value of the work of the managerial cadre, employed in positions of responsibility. This causes their dissatisfaction and does not stimulate initiative"--Wiesław Siłakiewicz, director of Vocational Schools Group No 2).

All crucial problems were reflected in the resolution passed at the end of the conference. The resolution is a guideline for municipal party organization activities in the near future. It is well known, at the same time, that its realization requires familiarity with the principles of the party's policy and trends in economic and social activities in force in our country.

During the conference, new municipal party authorities were elected. Jarosław Bogucki was entrusted with the function of KM PZPR first secretary.

#### Campaign at Large Plant Regions

Rzeszów NOWINY in Polish 5 Dec 83 p 1

Article by (reb)

Text The more than 8-week long reports-elections campaign in the party organizations (up to the provincial level) is gradually approaching its final stage. After the meetings in branch party organizations POPS and basic party organizations POPS (in the Krosno, Przemyśl, Rzeszów and Tarnobrzeg regions there are more than 5300 of them), in most circles and institutions the plants conferences which reviewed the 2.5-year long term and outlined courses of action for the next term are already over. In the coming days, they will take place in the region's largest industrial plants, such as the Transportation Equipment Plant WSK in Mielec (scheduled for 6 Dec) and Stalowa Wola Steelworks--on 10 December.

Last Friday, Saturday and Sunday several dozen party conferences were in session in basic level organizations. Thus, of the total of 184 city,

city-gmina and gmina organizations in the entire province, the reports-elections campaign has been totally finished in 92. To put it statistically, it is most advanced in the Przemysl and Tarnobrzeg regions, where in most gminas the conferences are already over.

As is well known, the reports-program debates in individual provincial PZPR organizations will be concluded with provincial party conferences. As the first in our region, the conference in Tarnobrzeg will convene, as we have already reported, on 28 December.

#### Plant, City District Conferences

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (km)]

[Text] Reports-elections conferences are still taking place in workplaces, colleges and institutions. Last Friday a plant conference took place at the Provincial Office [UW] in Poznan. Jan Mielcarek, PZPR provincial committee [KW PZPR] secretary, took part in it. New party authorities were elected. Zdzislaw Sniedziwski was reelected first secretary of the PZPR plant committee. The UW party organization will be represented at the city district conference by seven delegates.

The same day, the school conference at the Poznan Medical Academy [AM] took place, with Maciej Olejniczak, KW PZPR secretary, and Jerzy Mikosz, city district first secretary. Andrzej Kubacki was reelected first secretary of the AM PZPR plant committee

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Saturday, 3 December, 8 o'clock. A ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] hall in Robocza street. The PZPR conference of Wilda city district starts, inaugurating in Poznan the next stage of the party reports-elections campaign--city sections conferences. The session is opened by the incumbent first secretary of the city district committee [KD], Eugeniusz Lominski. In the name of the 194 delegates, he greets the guests who have come to the conference, and among them Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the PZPR Central Committee [KC PZPR] Politburo. Edward Lukasik, PZPR Provincial committee [KW PZPR] first secretary, is also present, as a delegate of the ZNTK organization.

The conference ended after a 9.5-hour debate in which 23 persons took part. The long hours of proceedings were not, however, lost time, they were not wasted. They constituted, first of all, an opportunity to evaluate thoroughly the 2.5-year term of the city district organization. And the contents of the comprehensive discussion to the point carried quite an important charge of arguments, they showed a creative approach not only to the process of meeting obligations established by party resolutions but also showed the fact that most members of the Wilda party organization maintain a proper ideological orientation. At the same time, the discussion was not free of

criticism of one's own actions and criticism of phenomena appearing at many levels and areas of economic, social and political life.

The Wilda organization drew conclusions and experience from the difficult road, not without thorns, it went through. The last term marked a time of strengthening an organization in the oldest, traditionally workers' city district of Poznan, in a political battle, in a gradual recovery, although--as it was pointed out during the conference--it is still a long way to a complete success. This topic was addressed by, among others, Edward Lukasik, KW PZPR first secretary, who spoke twice: at the beginning and at the end of the discussion. It was mentioned also by others, regardless of whether their basic considerations dealt with vital problems of plants' functioning within the economic reform or with evaluation of the work of party, union and youth organizations, medical services, transportation, city services, justice and law enforcement agencies.

The discussion was dominated by voices of railroad employees, which, however, should not be considered exceptional. Railroad employees constitute in this Wilda organization a definite majority (as is well known, members of the Cegielski Works do not belong here). The PKP [Polish State Railroads] center, ZNTK and DOKP [District Directorate of State Railroads] amount to almost 3,000 members, compared to 5,304 in the whole city district. But they have also a lot of professional problems, they are under constant fire from the public. Marian Lukaszewski of ZNTK and Stanislaw Chelstowski, director of ZDOKP [DOKP Board], were among those who talked about this. Zdzislaw Kochanski, representative of the PKP center party organization, apart from matters regarding working and social conditions at PKP, gave most of his attention to problems of rebuilding sociopolitical life and, in this context, to the activities of the patriotic movement for national, union and youth rebirth. Henryk Przybylski also talked about matters concerning PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth].

The speech by Zbigniew Barczak was extremely significant, dealing with responsibilities of party people and their role in the party hierarchy to which they had been elected, and so often they distinguish themselves by nothing but passiveness. Such people, regardless of their educational level, should not and must not be entrusted with a mandate. Another important issue was brought up by Antoni Florkowski, delegate of the local party organization of Gorna Wilda. He talked with concern about the situation of local organizations which operate directly in places of residence and lose their members, not because of regular leaving of party ranks but following a provision in the party statute which allows pensioners to remain in their present organizations. This way, local organizations die a natural death.

A lot was said also on the youth movement as well as on the way medical services work, on their major shortcomings, on activities of communal institutions, transportation and other services. Piotr Pedja was one of the last speakers (our space being limited, we do not mention all of them) who read an appeal on the necessity of opposing the increase of tensions in the world. The appeal was adopted unanimously, as was the text of the resolution and suggestions for realization during the next term.

During the conference, a new city section committee was elected, as well as other organs, Eugeniusz Lominski being reelected first secretary.

#### Party TV Instruction Planned

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The concern about the ideological content and artistic quality of radio and television programs, as well as tasks of the Radio and Television Committee against the background of the present situation in Poland and on the international scene, were issues predominant in the discussion which filled a considerable part of the agenda of the reports-elections conference of the party organization in the above institution, in session on 3 December.

As was pointed out in the report of the outgoing plant committee, delivered by its first secretary, Waldemar Krajewski, Polish Radio and Television were in the recent past the object of a particularly intense attack by politically and ideologically hostile elements. The consistent and inflexible stand of the party organization prevented counterrevolutionary forces from taking over this very important front of ideological warfare. Today, the party organization sets as its main mission support for all valuable, creative initiatives. Socially meaningful content should be coupled with care about a suggestive, accurately selected and attractive form of programs.

Prospects for the expansion of program activities was one of the themes in the speech by Mirosław Wojciechowski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, who provided information, among other things, about the soon to be activated TV channel 3 and radio channel 5. The new TV channel is to have, first of all, an educational character and to cover main problems of our society's life.

Many problems addressed during the session were referred to in the speech by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee [KC] PZPR secretary.

On the other hand, problems of the faculty cadre, educational influence on students, quality of education and its relation to economic needs, as well as the appropriate use of research and development potential were the main issues discussed during PZPR reports-elections conferences held on 3 December in schools of higher education and research institutes. The state of party organizations was also evaluated, as was the effectiveness of their influence on academic life.

During the reports-elections conference of the PZPR organization at Warsaw University, the most important matters concerning the life and activities of the university were discussed.

During the reports-elections conference of the 1000-member party organization at Warsaw Polytechnic in which Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and PZPR Warsaw committee first secretary as well as representatives of Warsaw workplaces took part, a great deal of consideration was given to the quality of instruction.

Last Saturday, the reports-elections conference of the Polish Academy of Sciences party organization took also place. Henryk Bednarski, KC PZPR secretary, took part in it. Referring to the years in which a paresis of theoretical ideas on the implementation of universal principles of socialism in the Polish environment had a negative impact on the effectiveness of achieving the goals of socialism, his speech and discussion stressed the need for a persistent struggle for the prestige and professional integrity of scholars.

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CSO; 2600/431



## POLITICAL PLURALISM USED BY ANTISOCIALISTS

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 83 pp 177-189

[Article by Jerzy Muszynski: "Political Pluralism: A Goal or Means of Antisocialist Opposition in Poland"]

[Text] 1. A discussion conducted in NOWE DROGI on political pluralism in socialism would be pointless if it concerned only the assumptions in the theory of the transition from capitalism to socialism. From the standpoint of this theory, the case is clear: if socialism becomes a fact, class antagonisms will be eliminated, and thus also the premises of the survivability of pluralistic tendencies and political pluralism as an institutional reflection of the arrangement of forces in a given society. Political pluralism may appear in a socialist system only during the first stages of the creation of the bases of socialism, when some political forces representing the interests of strata and circles interested in certain systems changes declare themselves for the time being on the side of the anticapitalist revolution. But if political pluralism actually appears, there can be no talk about making socialism a fact. Because where there is real socialism there is no pluralism; there is, however, a homogeneous, from the class standpoint, society which differs only by the place it occupies in the social division of labor (blue-collar work or white-collar work) and the way and quality of life (e.g., urban, rural). On the other hand, where political pluralism exists, an actual, real socialism does not appear, but socialist relations can only be established in specific areas of life, and class divisions still remain in society, antagonisms persist, and various conflicts occur.

Nevertheless, this discussion was meaningful, for in Poland recently pluralistic tendencies became increasingly stronger in public life, and gnawed more and more at the consciousness of numerous workers', peasant and intellectual circles, particularly the latter--in a word, they garnered for themselves the right of law. Thus the concern about explaining questions relating to political pluralism is completely understandable. Which does not mean that dealing with these matters in reality has cleared up this very simple--from the theoretical standpoint--problem. I believe that it was really in the theoretical sphere that this problem became confused. An attempt was made to fit the manifestations of pluralism which appeared in our country recently into specific ideas and to determine them theoretically by seeking answers to questions such as: what is political pluralism, how does it reveal itself in practice, and is it possible in socialism, etc. Less attention was given to the signs of political pluralism

in Poland. And it is precisely these signs which supply valuable materials for becoming interested in this phenomenon, above all its causes and determining factors, the environments establishing the antisocialist structures, the ideas of using these structures to attain the economic, political, social and cultural goals that their creators are aiming for.

Therefore, let us attempt to look at the problem of political pluralism through the prism of the strivings and goals of the antisocialist groups in Poland, and then reflect theoretically on the essence and function of political pluralism.

2. Initially, let us concern ourselves with the question whether political pluralism occurred in Poland, and possibly, when it made itself known here. To answer these two questions, we must go back into the history of the People's Republic, and more precisely, to the people's-democracy stage of our revolution.

During the first years of the Polish socialist revolution (1944-1948) the government in our country constituted something of a coalition--and a dual one--a coalition within the Left forces (including the Democratic movement Bloc) and a coalition of the ideologically split Left with the forces of the Right (Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Party). The economic, social, political and cultural goals (i.e., those pertaining to the principles of the political system) of all these forces were not the same, either in one political arrangement or the other. This, quite naturally, created a political pluralism, especially in the Left-Right arrangement. The rivalry between Left and Right to gain support for its own systems goals revealed not only the existence of a political pluralism but it also constituted a peculiar form of struggle for authority, for "who--to whom." A glaring sign of this was the referendum on the future socioeconomic system in Poland and elections to the Legislative Sejm. Another sign of this was the counterrevolutionary struggle of the underground with the people's government, the striving of the counterrevolutionary forces to restore capitalism. The defeat of the Right forces, then their organizational disintegration, and the routing of the counterrevolutionary underground did not automatically eliminate political pluralism but only lessened its scope and alleviated the symptoms. First, because the electoral defeat of the Right did not initially change the arrangement of the class and political forces in the country. The opponents of the revolution and socialism, betting on a legal Right, did not surrender but continued to attempt to reach their intended goals even though their chances shrunk from day to day. Second, because a split, from the standpoint of ideology and politics, Left-wing coalition remained in Poland. Important differences on the question of goals, results and the course of the Polish revolution existed between the Polish Workers Party (PPR) and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), i.e., within the Polish working class. Although different ideological bases and concepts of socialism did not interfere in the ongoing cooperation of both workers' parties, nevertheless there were differences between them on what Polish socialism should be and how it should be implemented.

The unification of the Polish workers' movement on a Marxist-Leninism base and the establishment of a unified workers' party constituted not only a victory over the forces that strived to break up this movement but it also removed the premises of political pluralism, reduced its scope and diminished its functions.

It is true that differences continued to exist between the PZPR and the SL (Peasant Party) (later the United Peasant Party) and the SD (Democratic Party), nevertheless from the time that these parties recognized the ideological and political leadership of the united workers' party, and with time, socialism, as their own systems goal, the remaining premises of the maintenance of political pluralism in Poland gradually disappeared.

Surmounting political pluralism in our country was a historical process, a revolutionary reconstruction of the political and socioeconomic system, a gradual implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the beginning of the creation of socialistic relations in various fields of life. All of these processes took place during the people's-democratic stage of the socialist revolution. The elimination of political pluralism was the result of this stage, but it was also a condition for the building of the bases of socialism according to the program outlined by the unifying congress of the workers' party.

The elimination of political pluralism in Poland meant that the future of the country's political system is closely tied to socialism as the lowest phase of the communist formation; it meant also that only one road leads to this socialism--the road mapped out by the PZPR, which became the vanguard of the entire Polish working class and the leading political force of Polish society. The establishment of a system of dictatorship by the proletariat was synonymous with the end of political pluralism and formed the political premises for the implementation of socialism in our country.

The elimination of political pluralism did not mean that all class differences in our society were removed. Differences remained, and not just in interests and class strivings. Pluralism remained in the area of ideology and philosophy, and also in culture, morality and mentality. Fewer differences in the class area did not imply that they automatically disappeared in all areas of life. Differences could not disappear because of objective reasons, and especially because the revolution did not proceed equally in all areas of life. The political goals of a socialist revolution are being implemented the fastest, which is shown, for example, in the elimination of the premises of the maintenance of political pluralism. Revolutionary processes in the area of human awareness take the longest and are the most difficult. We have not always remembered this, and perhaps have not understood this, or even minimized it. For after all, what were the pronouncements at the party congresses or the plenary meetings of the PZPR Central Committee about the moral and political unity of the Polish nation, about the transformation of the PZPR from a workers' party into a nationwide party? They were an obvious misconception, if not disregard of the historical meaning of a socialist revolution, its multifariousness and its dissimilar effects in particular areas of life. It is not the party-congress pronouncements or the ambitious desires of political leaders that create new events in the process of going from capitalism to socialism but the efforts of the minds and hands of working people, who themselves in this process are undergoing changes, particularly in the sphere of awareness.

But these are only digressions. In returning to the merits of the case, we should make a distinction between ideological, philosophical and moral pluralism and political pluralism. The symptoms of nonpolitical pluralism are, in the

process of creating socialism and even after achieving it, a natural phenomenon. Anyway, they find their own legal safeguards (e.g., in the form of constitutional laws and civil rights, such as freedom of conscience and religion) in a socialist state. Pluralism in these areas of life does not necessarily have to have an antisocialist significance, while political pluralism is always a sign of anti-socialist striving, for it aims at overthrowing the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat (allegedly nondemocratic) and replacing it with the free flow of political forces--a phenomenon typical of capitalism. Thus, it is impossible to reconcile political pluralism with the assumptions and goals of a socialist system, for which differences in ideology, philosophy, culture, morality and mentality do not constitute an interference in assumptions and goals. Naturally, pluralism in these areas is not an immanent phenomenon for socialism. It constitutes--woven into the new systems relations--the residue of the previous formation, which will gradually disappear, although it is difficult to specify, even approximately, the duration of this disappearance process. Doubtless it will disappear in the higher phase of the communist formation, when the economic, social, political, cultural and moral ideals of the communist system are implemented.

3. The disappearance of political pluralism in our country, beginning with the latter 1940's, was not synonymous with the elimination of all anti-socialist forces. However, it meant that they could not act overtly to undermine the socialist system. The enemies of socialism did not vanish after the Right was defeated. Although their ranks were diminished, nevertheless people hostile to socialism remained in Poland, lived and worked in it, and formed their own circles. Some changed their political convictions and accepted socialism, other stayed with antisocialism, assembled together, argued, and waited for the occasion when they would be able to take concrete action. And there was no lack of such occasions in Poland. Every crisis situation, every social conflict was exploited by the enemies of socialism, who had hopes that such situations would make it possible for them to realize their own strivings, and regarded them as a symptom that socialism is collapsing. It was these crises and conflicts which constituted one of the important sources for the vitality of the antisocialist forces, which not only counted on a recurrence of the crisis but also strived to provoke social unrest. These types of situations occurred especially in the 1970's, when, after the December events, the enemies of socialism were able to gain a certain influence in some working circles--an influence which expanded after the reaction of part of the working class to the price increases on some food products, increases which, under pressure, the authorities revoked in June 1976. Up to this time the enemies of socialism operated mostly illegally, in hiding, in a few social circles. It is true that after 1956 an antisocialist opposition began to establish itself in the form of various discussion clubs (the Crooked Circle Club, the Warsaw Political Discussion Club--the so-called club of creeping revisionists), nevertheless it did not gain the support of broader social circles and after a while gradually died, which does not mean that the enemies of socialism abandoned the struggle for achieving their own goals. Beginning in 1976 they went on to more extensive, coordinated and already semi-legal, official activity, which was connected with the formation of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR). Somewhat later other opposition-to-socialism organizations arose, existing and acting semi-legally,

including: the Movement for Defense of Human and Civil Rights, the Committees for Peasant Self-Defense, Student Solidarity Committees, the Young Poland Movement, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Free Trade Union Committees, the Society for Academic Studies, and others. While their ideological and doctrinal assumptions differed, all of these dissident groups had one common basic goal--to eliminate socialism in Poland and return to a capitalistic system in a social-democratic or christian-democratic version. The activities of these groups aroused pluralistic tendencies, although the fact of their formation alone did not mean in the least that the country was returning to political pluralism, i.e., to the situation which existed during 1945-1948. The dissident groups of the 1970's were not a direct, generational extension of the Rightist forces that had been routed in the first years of People's Poland, although certain doctrinal ideas repeated themselves (e.g., the agrarian concepts, i.e., the PSL (Polish Peasant Party) ideas in the activities of the Peasant Self-Defense Committees). The antisocialist forces affiliated in the groups listed were for the most part a new generation of anticommunists, although among them there were people who were known for their antisocialist activities in the 1940's. Their immediate goal was to obtain the legal status of active political organizations, which would gradually transform themselves into political parties, in competition with the PZPR, and, from the political-system standpoint, in opposition to it. Hence the striving to resuscitate political pluralism, thanks to which the antisocialist groups were to become a legal political opposition to the communist party. The next goal was to take advantage of the election and parliamentary rivalry to take authority into their own hands. This goal could be--under the specific Polish conditions--realized, according to the beliefs of the opposition leaders, only by reviving political pluralism and therefore by legalizing the existence and activity of antisocialist groups. There was no question of a direct conflict with the state's socialist forces, for the dissidents would have no chance at all in such a conflict. Nor was there any chance of organizing legally-functioning oppositional structures before August 1980, and although signs that they were functioning were seen, and they even generated an antisocialist climate, ignored by the then-governing leaders, there was no talk about a return to political pluralism. However, such a chance did exist after the July and August workers strikes in 1980. In the organizing and leading of these strikes the enemies of socialism were already playing a large part.

The decision of the authorities to begin negotiations with the striking workers, or more precisely, with their representative, the Interfactory Strike Committees, of which representatives of the antisocialist groups were members, was read by these groups as weakness on the part of the authorities, creating a chance at reactivating the pluralistic system.

4. The signing of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements, in which, among other things, the establishment of independent and self-governing trade unions was provided, was regarded by the antisocialist opposition as the first step on the road to a change in the political system to a pluralistic one, and the registration of these unions and other organizations of this type (e.g., the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Private Farmers [Rural Solidarity]; Independent Association of Students; Independent, Self-Governing Private Transport Drivers Trade Union), became a confirmation--according to the opposition leaders--of the correctness of the road taken and the methods and means of

action. Although the leaders of the new union movement repudiated the political character of this movement, the opposition forces regarded it as not only professional but social and political. This was confirmed in the program resolution of the First National Congress of NSZZ "Solidarity" Delegates. In point 1, titled "Who Are We and Towards What Are We Aiming," it was stated that the NSZZ "Solidarity" movement was "a protest against the existing system of authority," that "it was not only a matter of living conditions" but also "justice, democracy, truth, law and order, human dignity, and freedom of beliefs..." And further: "An economic protest also had to be a social protest, and a social protest also had to be a moral protest."

The program resolution stated that NSZZ "Solidarity" bands together many philosophical currents and various political convictions, that society must be able to express a diversity of social and political viewpoints. In thesis 19 of the resolution there is an outright demand for philosophical, social, political and cultural pluralism, which was to have been the basis for democracy in a "self-governing Republic." Point 4 of this thesis states: We believe that the principles of pluralism must apply to political life. Our union will support and safeguard civic initiatives aimed at presenting to society various political, economic and social programs, and we will organize ourselves to put these programs into effect." Although it is true that the resolution opposed the transformation of the union into a political party, this does not mean in the least that the principle itself of political pluralism was undermined.

As events showed, the activity of NSZZ "Solidarity" and its additions was not only professional but also political. A series of campaigns conducted by the leaders of this union, including strikes, sit-ins in state administration buildings, rallies and demonstrations, "hunger marches," journalistic activity--all of this was to draw society into such political endeavors, directed mainly at the authorities. "Solidarity" presented a concrete political program of unequivocal antisocialist assumptions, which placed it within the ranks of the forces in opposition to the socialist state. And still a reactivation of political pluralism did not come about, although its symptoms began to be evident here and there. Nevertheless, the intent to revive such pluralism was obvious and it was precisely this road which was to lead the enemies of socialism to rule and then to a change in the socioeconomic and political system.

The idea of using political pluralism by the dissident groups and later by the "Solidarity" movement was not in itself original and evolved from the bourgeois assumptions of a political system as a condition for ensuring democracy in the sphere of political relations. The antisocialist groups could not take another road to achieve their intended goal. Neither a direct conflict of the working masses with the authorities, or striving to bring in an anticommunist dictatorship regime would have offered a chance, for in the first place the opposition could not have won such a conflict, and in the second place the dictatorship regime would not have found any real support, especially from the working people. Political pluralism, a kind of dual-authority arrangement for an interim period, was not the basic goal of the antisocialist opposition, however. It was only a means to a goal, that is, to the elimination of socialism. It is difficult to say what the opposition would have done had it



attained political pluralism. It can only be said that it would have strived to use it to gain full authority, to consolidate it and use it to accomplish its own interests. In such case the "Solidarity" program resolution cannot be conclusive, because it was conceived as a document defining the position of the antisocialist opposition on the road to political pluralism, legalizing its existence and activity in People's Poland and providing a chance at seizing authority. And as to what would happen later, nothing, obviously, was officially said.

The antisocialist forces justified their demand for political pluralism by the necessity to restore democracy in Poland and to ensure its further development, i.e., they aimed for the same thing which the ruling party postulated at its own congresses. This was reflected not only in the program resolution of "Solidarity's" First Congress, but also in many other statements made by its leaders and in its extensive journalistic activity. But it is interesting that democracy was understood to be not according to the assumptions of the socialist system, but in accordance with bourgeois ideas. The intention of the opposition leaders on this question was unequivocal. Using the concept "democracy," the opposition did not strive to renew the deformed socialism, but aimed at instituting a political system typical of modern capitalism.

5. The dissimilarity of points of view regarding the same concept and the phenomenon of democracy is very basic, particularly since the dispute about the concept and essence of democracy, its aspects and scope, its functions and norms, which has lasted for a thousand years, has not been unequivocally settled either in science or in politics. Throughout the history of the dispute about democracy, the differences pertained to many aspects of this phenomenon, although most of the controversies centered around problems relating to its substance and form.

The treatment of democracy as the rule of the working people, i.e., in the real meaning of this concept, did not in the least dominate in this dispute. The developing trend of interpreting democracy as the rule of the majority was to a considerable degree a departure from the authenticity of the concept, for the majority of society cannot be automatically identified with the concept of the working people, which, incidentally, is also unclear. Therefore, the rule of the working people or the rule of the majority? This is not putting the case artificially, although even in past eras and in the contemporary world, the working people constitute the majority of society. Today it is possible to manipulate so as to form a majority without the participation of the working people. For that matter, the problem is not so obvious and unequivocal. Counting citizens as working people brings forth many problems, for neither a relationship to ownership of means of production, nor place occupied in the social division of labor, nor finally, social origin--the main criteria of class membership-- are in this case adequate as categories which would determine someone's membership in the working class or exclude him from it. In societies in which class divisions are very clear, these criteria can be applied with greater certainty; however, in those in which the social differentiation is great and in which class differences are gradually becoming blurred, it is more difficult to divide society into workers and nonworkers.

The concept "majority of society" is also not very precise because immediately the question arises about the criteria for including working people in the majority. And the criteria may be various: class, social, national, religious, race, ethnic, etc. In order to establish a majority with certainty it is not enough to apply only one of these criteria, and certainly it is not possible to limit oneself to a criterion which establishes a majority according to the number of electoral votes given to some kind of party or political movement.

In a dispute about the essence, form, functions, scope and symptoms of democracy, the above-listed particular criteria are not very useful and are inadequate. Of practical significance may be those criteria which determine the attitude of the people to specific material, intellectual and moral values, i.e., those which determine the class, position and role of an individual, strata, or class in society. It is not by chance, therefore, that democracy applies to economic, social, political, ideological and cultural relations, that is, those which determine the essence of the state's political system, the mechanism of authority, function and form of the state, the standing of the working person, the principles of the division of national income, the ability to obtain an education and develop capabilities and interests.

Such a relationship to the concept and essence of democracy means that there can be no talk about the universality of a phenomenon, because there are no universal economic, social, political and cultural relations in the world. That is how it was in the past and that is how it is now, particularly since the world has ceased to be uniform in the political-system sense. And, as was stated above, precisely because democracy is closely tied to a specific system, it is, or is not, mirrored in its reality. Thus there can be no supra-system occurrence of democracy, because whether there is, or is not, democracy in a given society is determined not by the official majority of society, not by official inclusion of people with the working masses, not by the form of the state and the mutual relations among its organs, but by the specific substance of economic, social, political and cultural relations. This is an extremely important thesis, since throughout the history of the dispute about the essence and concept of democracy controversies have erupted, and even today appear very sharply in connection with the different criteria for evaluating what is, and what is not, democracy.

At present there are two basic forms of interpretation of democracy: one, which ensues from different currents of ideology and bourgeois awareness, is based on official-legal criteria and therefore identifies democracy with an authority which represents an official majority of society, accepts external symptoms of interhuman relations and their form and shape of political life; and a second, which ensues from communist ideology, regarding democracy as an actual state of relations between people; relations based on assumptions of freedom and equality, social justice and fraternity; relations which were achieved not as a goal unto itself, but as a basis, a support for further transformation of them in order to ensure people a life under conditions which correspond to their age-old, natural hopes and desires. In this interpretation democracy is not regarded as simply the attainment--in relation to assumptions--of the result of the development of mankind, but also as the basis for further development, in accordance with the demands of social progress, justice, humanism and peace. Only a socialist system can ensure people the real form of a so-defined democracy, while the



specific signs and scope of democracy are always determined by the degree to which socialism is implemented as the lower phase of a communist structure.

A comparison of these two main interpretations of the concept and essence of democracy leads to the conclusion that the trend evolving from the progressive tendencies and developed within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist theory is superior to the bourgeois current, that it regards democracy as a process of the historical development of mankind, taking on a specific form of social relations predetermined by a class division of society, antagonisms and conflicts existing between particular classes, strata, circles and social groups, and economic, social, political, and cultural goals of a struggle conducted by the above-mentioned social structures. It appears from this that the existence of democracy or the lack of it, is determined not only and not so much by certain general, a priori assumptions defining--based on slogans of freedom, equality, justice and fraternity--an appropriate form of political system for society, but by the specific substance of interhuman relations. In this sense, democracy is both the substance and function of social life, which is mirrored externally by the form of the political and socioeconomic system of the given country. Just as the form of the state does not in and of itself determine the essence of the system but is its structural-organizational reflection, so also the official form of the assumptions of democracy does not have to be identical with the actual economic, social, political, ideological and cultural relations which determine interhuman relations. The scope of democracy changes according to transformations in class, economic, social, and political relations and other areas of human life. The sharpening of class conflicts, the appearance of crises in particular areas of life, may cause a restriction of democracy for a class stripped of authority or for its overt enemies, while the alleviation of these conflicts and the prevention of critical situations always leads to an expansion of the scope of democracy.

Thus democracy is not an unchanging phenomenon, a universal state of interhuman relations, but the concrete substance of these relations, determined by the economic, social, political, and cultural position of particular classes, strata, groups and social circles, the state of antagonisms, conflicts and struggles among them, their attitude toward the prospects of future development. It is by these criteria that the scope of democracy in particular societies should be measured.

6. The comments on the different understandings of the concept, essence and function of democracy, its symptoms and scope and its form, were intended to provide an awareness of the differences and controversies which occur in relation to this social phenomenon. These controversies are a reflection of the various ideological and doctrinal motivations which guide the people who assess democracy. Thus the spokesmen for socialism see and understand democracy differently, while those hostile to this system represent another point of view. This is natural, and it should not be surprising that everyone wants that type of democracy which suits his class and social position, his hopes, desires and life's aspirations, his material and social needs, and finally his desired place and role in society, his viewpoint on prospects of mankind development, and particularly on the directions and goals of this development.

Obviously, we are not talking about the subjective feelings of people assessing a specific type of democracy, although the influence of such feelings cannot be avoided in shaping a specific attitude on democracy, but we are talking about a fair assessment of a concrete form of economic, social, political and cultural relations which are the determinants of a specific type of democracy. We cannot expect in a socialist system that enemies of this system will fairly assess democracy. The negative attitude of the enemies of socialism determines their viewpoint on the essence, scope, symptoms, functions and form of this democracy under the specific conditions of the formation of a socialist system. This attitude is, in itself, a sign of their struggle with socialism, a struggle which is the element of a class conflict in a socialist system.

Any questioning of the socialist character of the system and its further development in the direction of implementing the historical mission of the working class is related to the denial, by the enemies of socialism, of the democratic character of this system. In other words, their position in the assessment of a socialist democracy, an assessment which is decidedly negative, is a sign of disapproval of real socialism and the prospects of its further development. But this is not what is most important, insofar as the viewpoint of the enemies of socialism is concerned. What is important is their motivation in denying that a socialist system has democratic qualities. And these motivations ensue from the ideologies which oppose communism, which a priori exclude the possibility of the existence of democracy in a system in which only one political party--the communist party--functions, a party which occupies a leading position in society and exercises ideological and political leadership in all areas of life. The enemies of socialism regard democracy in a very peculiar way: not as an arrangement of mutual relations uniting and integrating society, but as the result and sign of the division of society. The division of society, according to various ideopolitical orientations, is supposed to be, according to them, a sign of democracy and also its only proof. It is not a case here of a natural division, obviously, but a division which occurs according to formal and legal criteria, i.e., criteria which determine the ability of one out of a few or even several political parties to function legally. According to such an interpretation, democracy as an institutional form of social relations exists where, when, and insofar, as political pluralism is present. This pluralism, according to the bourgeois ideologues and the enemies of socialism, is a sine qua non condition of democracy, its only possible symptom and its only effective guarantee of democratic relations in society.

Putting the matter so categorically must evoke both substantive and methodical reservations, and after all, why accept the assumption that only a breakup of society, a division of it consolidated by membership in one out of a few or several political parties, or a declaration in favor of these parties, supporting this or some other ideopolitical orientation, is supposed to be the sign and essence of democracy? Political pluralism may be regarded as only one of many concepts of democracy, but not as irrefutable proof of its existence. The fact of the division of society according to different ideopolitical orientations implying the existence of more than one political party does not in itself guarantee that people will have freedom. It does not ensure them equality, it does not create a system of social justice and conditions for realization of personal desires and aspirations. However, this fact reveals the disintegration of society, the existence of various concepts and versions of the

development of a given country, different viewpoints on the society's political system and the national economy, different strivings to take over and exercise authority--in a word, it constitutes only proof of the political polarization of the society.

The antisocialist advocates of political pluralism believe that the existence of such a system cancels out the possibility of bringing in a dictatorship of some one political force, prevents totalitarianism, and creates unlimited opportunities for the free play of political forces. But this is more an assumption than a reality. The fact that pluralistic systems exist in many capitalist countries and that there is rivalry among different parties and political forces does not automatically protect the societies of these countries against fascist-type upheavals, the establishment of various types of fascistic regimes; it does not eliminate social and economic inequality; it does not guarantee people equal opportunities for advancement and development; it does not ensure them the ability to decide on matters relating to their own country and the directions in which it is to develop. In many pluralistic countries fascist dictatorships came to power and no free play of various political forces was able to prevent it.

Political pluralism, however, is an institutional confirmation of the ideopolitical disintegration of society, the maintenance of economic, social and cultural inequality which reflects this disintegration and contributes to its consolidation. Because it disintegrates society, there can be no place for political pluralism in a socialist system. There can be no reconciliation with either the assumptions of this system or its goals.

7. Socialism as the lower phase of a communist formation will become a reality only when, as a result of transformations in all areas of life, all economic, social, political, ideological and cultural determinants of the division of society into classes, strata and antagonistic groups are totally eliminated, when class conflicts disappear, when actual moral and political unity of society is established, and when a homogeneous type of society, integrated from every standpoint, is formed. Obviously, only a political system which eliminates all signs and determinants of political pluralism can ensure such results of a socialist revolution--because pluralism not only does not help in achieving such results, it actually interferes in their attainment.

The socialist revolution aims at the disappearance of all remnants of capitalist formation, bourgeois awareness, morality and mentality from all areas of life. The maintenance of political pluralism, or the striving to reactivate it, therefore, is in conflict with the assumptions of socialism. That is why in none of the existing socialist countries is the political system based on pluralistic assumptions, but appears as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat which is transforming itself--insofar as socialist relations are establishing themselves in all areas of life--into an overall-social state. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, means the rule of the working class and its allies functioning under the ideological and political leadership of the party of the working class, the communist, Marxist-Leninist party. Basically, there can be only one political party in this system--the Marxist-Leninist party. In addition to it, there can be non-Marxist friendly parties which acknowledge the leadership of the communist

party and socialism as the goal of the social strata and circles that they represent. The existence of friendly parties, alongside the Marxist-Leninist party, is confirmation of the fact that a political alliance has been established and is functioning between the working class and other strata and circles of the working population, i.e., the peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals.

The multiparty system in socialism is in no way reminiscent of the systems of political pluralisms which appear in capitalist countries. And this is not only because there must be, in socialism, a conformity in the long-range interests of all social classes, strata, groups and circles and that they must have a common goal in all areas of life, but also because all of these social structures, together with their political representatives, acknowledge the leading position of the communist party and its ideological and political leadership in all areas of life. A pluralistic system would make it impossible to accomplish the historical mission of the working class in socialism, for it would lead to a breakdown of society and its specific structures, i.e., classes, strata, groups and circles, instead of unifying them.

That is why the position of Marxist-Leninist theory on the question of a political system in socialism is unequivocal: not political pluralism, but a dictatorship of the proletariat, and later an overall-social, nationwide state; not a consolidation of the class disintegration of society, but the integration of this society. Without this the goals of the political system and the ideals of socialism cannot be attained. Socialism and political pluralism are irreconcilable, and thus all demands for the establishment of political parties in a socialist system, based on any kind of variation of anticommunist ideology, cannot be regarded as anything else but an act inimical to socialism. The enemies of socialism in Poland should realize this. Their demands that political pluralism be restored are unrealistic, and even utopian, for they cannot be reconciled with the values of socialism.

The road to a real democracy of the socialist type in Poland cannot lead to reactivation of political pluralism, since this would be a step backwards, a return to capitalism and a dissipation of the gains of the socialist revolution, the tremendous efforts of society in all fields of life. Not a reincarnation of pluralism, but the creation of new, effectively functioning mechanisms, guaranteeing the consolidation of democratic arrangements of interhuman relations, popularization of a democratic style of life, and the activity of all elements in the political system, all state and social institutions, and all organization units in the nation. Socialism as a socioeconomic and political system cannot allow political opposition and in no case can it tolerate it. Instead of the demands for political pluralism made by the enemies of socialism, Poland needs absolute observance, by all elements in our political system, by all citizens, of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and other laws. Party decisions, the party statute and the resolutions of the party congresses must be respected by party echelons and organizations. Socialist democracy is not the breaking-up of society, not competition among its various classes, strata, groups and circles, but an integration which identifies the goals of individuals with social goals, and holds society responsible for a living standard as befits a person in socialism and for the fate of individuals.

Democracy in socialism is also respect for the assumptions of Marxist-Leninist theory, willingness to be guided by them and creatively developing and applying them to the requirements of our society, and thus, to what is happening in the country and which determines Poland's position in the world. The oneness of theory and practice in a socialist democracy is the best means to an actual, real democracy. Society itself can ensure such oneness, and the PZPR, as the leading force of this society, must see to it. "The guiding role of the party in society and its leadership role in the state," the report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo read at the Thirteen Plenum, "is a fundamental principle in our political system. So-called "actual pluralism" or "free play of forces" is nothing more than a demand for abandonment of the compass and rudder on the open sea."

8. The time has come to close the discussion on political pluralism in a socialist system, for there is nothing here that is vague, ambiguous or doubtful. Political pluralism is a phenomenon inherent in a capitalist structure and is totally foreign to socialism. Pluralism is neither a means nor a symptom of true democracy, i.e., a democracy in substance, in the nature of social relations, and not in form and external signs. But the discussion around socialist democracy cannot and should not be closed, because these are serious matters, particularly from the practical point of view. Life has frequently deviated from the theoretical and legal-standard assumptions and bases of a socialist democracy. The problem of what should be done now and in the future so that practice in democracy is an embodiment of theoretical assumptions always remains open. There is never too much wise counsel on this subject. We should not be discouraged by the past, a past that is not always praiseworthy, for life never stands still. No one will create socialism for us. We must do this ourselves. And for this we must not only learn the theoretical assumptions of a socialist democracy--we must also learn it in practice, in every job, in every situation, and in relation to every fellow-citizen.

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## ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH PRIVILEGES CRITICIZED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Zbigniew Stachowski: "Sanctified Megalomania"]

[Text] Because of the privileged status of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland during the period between two world wars, the anti-clerical circles of the Polish intelligentsia could refer to more than just the philosophical arguments in their polemics with the church.

During that time, especially after the negotiation of the concordat in 1925, serious reservations were evoked by the church's finances. Up to 1925 the Catholic Church was annually receiving a sum of approximately 14 million zlotys from the state treasury. After the concordat had been negotiated, the amount of that subsidy began to increase significantly. In 1926 the state expended the sum of 23.4 million zlotys for the Catholic Church. In the fiscal year 1927-28, that sum totalled 21.1 million zlotys, and in the 1930's it was kept at the average level of 20 million zlotys annually. In addition, the church owned then approximately 400,000 hectares of land, including over 80,000 hectares of forests. Thus, it could afford to send a sum estimated at approximately 1.5 million zlotys in foreign currency annually as various duties (including Peter's pence - "denarius sancti Petri") to the Apostolic See (see Jerzy Wislocki: "Uposazenie Kosciola i duchowienstwa katolickiego w Polsce 1918-1939 [Salary of the Roman Catholic Church and the clergy in Poland 1918-1939], Poznan 1981, p 282-286).

Even being a financial potentate, the church could not then afford the opening of such a broad building campaign as it currently can. During the 20-year period between World War I and World War II the construction costs of one church varied from 100,000 zlotys in the country to 500,000 zlotys in the city. Although all figures concerning the construction of religious buildings in that period are not available, according to J. Wislocki (p 280), 103 churches were erected in Poland during those years of building prosperity (1934-37). The figures of 31 December 1937 say that the number of churches and chapels totalled 7,257 [these figures pertain only to the Roman Catholic Church).

Currently, all the possible symptoms indicate that for the second time there are favourable circumstances for the building of churches in Poland, as it were, in spite of Western propaganda taking advantage of the economic depression in

our country. The "Statement of the Primate of Poland on the Day of Saint Jadwiga of Silesia Concerning the Construction of Religious Buildings," on 25 September 1983 (but not published until 8 November 1983; see SLOWO POWSZECHNE No 220) is an expression of these optimistic perspectives. The statement has at least a "cheerful" if not a "joyful" tone.

After those years when "God's people prayed under the open sky for their right to erect new places of worship, and that right was denied them," there came the time which is described as the time of construction crusade. This statement says that Catholics must realize that the construction of churches is "of great religious, moral and also social and educational importance on a parish and national or even a universal scale."

The church believes that the presence of millions of people at meetings with Pope John Paul II during his second journey to Poland is sufficient proof that "our shrines will never be empty, and they are as necessary for human life as bread, water and air" (it must be said, however, that the number of participants of those meetings did not exceed 1 million in any one of the localities visited by the pope, and only 17 percent of the nation attended the masses and the meetings with the pope nationwide).

Putting aside the merits of the above reasoning, it seems to be advisable to recall again that the Catholics in Poland never had, in fact, any reason to complain about restriction of their prospects of expanding and modernizing the construction of religious and church buildings. After all, the number of churches has been doubled in comparison with the period between World War I and World War II. The change of Polish borders after World War II alone resulted in the fact that the church acquired over 2,000 buildings and also took over 200 Protestant churches in central Poland.

Between 1945 and 1970, a total of 912 churches and chapels, which had been destroyed during the war, were rebuilt, and 445 new churches and chapels were erected. Of this total, 260 were built between 1945 and 1960. During the 1960's, when a small number of permits were issued, about 60 buildings were built in compliance with the regulations being then in force (Circular No 3 of the Office for Religious Affairs, issued in 1957). In addition, this period was characterized by the tendency to erect new religious buildings completely in contravention of the existing regulations. In that manner about 120 buildings were then erected in addition to those previously mentioned.

Between 1971 and 1980 a total of 741 enlargement and construction permits were issued. A total of 331 permits were issued in 1981. Since Order No 47 of the prime minister, dated 24 November 1981, concerning the planning and implementation of church and religious-building investments, was enforced, a hitherto unnoticed intensification in this regard has taken place. According to that order, all investment projects having over 600 square meters of floor space are included in the 5-year planning and are coordinated between the governor and the prelate of a diocese. On the other hand, investment projects having less than 600 square meters are not included in this planning, and the permits are issued by mayors of cities and chief administrators of gminas [parishes]. In 1982, there were issued 304 permits for the construction of churches having



over 600 square meters of floor space (and besides that, 40 permits are under consideration), and 300 permits for the construction of churches having up to 600 square meters of floor space. This way, about 1,000 churches and chapels will be erected or enlarged until 1985, in addition to those 741 permitted during the 1970's. In this respect, we shall take at least one of the foremost places, if not first place, in the world.

Besides the above-mentioned investments, the Catholic Church received permission in 1981 to erect seminary buildings in Warsaw, Czestochowa, Koszalin, Olsztyn and Szczecin and, in addition, seminar buildings in Bialystok, Lomza, and Sandomierz will be enlarged. On 31 December 1982 the state of construction of religious buildings (churches and chapels) stood as follows: 906 investments projects (none has been stopped) including 60 projects being conducted in contravention of the law. Two hundred of them were finished and put into use; 666 projects are for the construction of new buildings; 47 projects are for reconstruction; and 197 projects are for enlargement, reconditioning or adaptation.

In answer to the question of whether those approximately 1,000 churches and chapels (excluding "auxiliary" buildings) are a heavy burden for the building materials sector, it is right to point out that allocations for one church investment project are statistically: 56.7 tons of cement; 9,800 bricks; 18 tons of steel; and 45.6 cubic meters of wood; whereas 18 tons of cement, 2.41 tons of steel and 1.43 cubic meters of wood are used for the construction of one apartment unit in an apartment building. It should also be mentioned that there is exceptional order and good organization of work at construction sites managed by the church.

This mobilization campaign for the "construction crusade" is characterized by the fact that the church and (some) Catholic publications evidently lower the figures concerning its possessions of religious and church buildings. For example, in a publication by Witold Zdaniewicz "Kosciol katolicki w Polsce 1945-1982" [The Roman Catholic Church in Poland 1945-1982], Poznan 1982 (p 32), it is stated that on 1 January 1983 the church possessed 12,554 chapels and churches, although official sources estimate that this number is 14,498 (including approximately 250 private chapels). On the other hand, SLOWO POWSZECHNE No 155, 10 August 1979 (i.e., 2 years earlier) stated that "there are 9,856 churches, including 6,514 parish churches, and 3,587 chapels." Even a completely free interpretive choice of various figures in Catholic publications unmistakably indicates that quoted differences are so substantial (about 1,000 churches and chapels are missing) that one must take those figures very cautiously.

The prelate of the Diocese of Przemyśl, Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, said during his interview for Radio Vatican that about 180 "new and permanent churches, not provisional ones" have been built in his diocese since 1970, and many other ones are under construction (there are 27 dioceses in Poland). In this case one can probably rely on those words of the prelate of the Diocese of Przemyśl.

Let us say, for comparison, that non-Roman Catholic denominations started the construction of only 24 buildings (figures of 31 December 1982).



Opening such a broad investment program raises many questions concerning the church's financial potential and the remarkably heavy burden on the already strained minimum social conditions of the faithful, because the state gives its financial support only for the restoration of historical buildings. On the other hand, the Catholics justly criticized, not too long ago, the excessive capital expenditures of Gierek's group. Assuming, therefore, that the former objections against the investment policy under no circumstances concern the church, we must either admit that the church has suitable "pledges" (perhaps Bishop Marcinkus financially supported not only the former Solidarity union) or consider this nonproductive part of the investment as a "supernatural" way of fighting inflation; the third possibility, however, is that the church, despite all the economic troubles of our country, wants to secure its own particular interests by counting on the "actions and contributions of the faithful." The latter supposition seems to be the most plausible one; after all, the label given for the initiative of "building the second (this time the church's) Poland" reveals this very clearly, because the Catholics are to pass ahead of the next generation "the test in maintaining Christian and national values."

Certainly, it will be a difficult test in megalomania which is, in this case, of a religious rather than a secular nature.

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## THEME OF DISUNITY AMONG LCY LEADERSHIP AIRED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 386, 5 Nov 83 pp 16-18

[Article by Branko Vlahovic: "LCY: Unanimous on Disunity"]

[Text] Following the 12th LCY Congress and up to the 10th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee, which has just been held, there was a great deal of talk about whether there is unity or not within the League of Communists and in its leadership. Many have pointed to disunity in the leadership as the principal cause of the slow performance of the tasks agreed on. The plenum, which debated the current economic situation and political-ideological tasks of the LC in implementing the stabilization policy in 1984, showed how much truth and how much exaggeration there was in those stories.

Conflicts among individual leaders or bodies of leadership which occasionally break out even in public aggravate an already difficult situation. The "spats" conducted through newspaper columns are disturbing not only to party members, but to other citizens as well. Just a few days before the meeting of the LCY Central Committee we have mentioned Jure Bilic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, spoke very frankly to Zagreb newsmen about how the situations in which the representatives of the republic and provincial LC's find themselves represents quite a heavy burden in the party leadership which he has belonged to for more than a year now. Jure Bilic thinks that it is a great shortcoming that Yugoslavia's leading figures have little familiarity with the situation outside their respective republics.

"When we speak about the LCY, we need to say that it is an expression of the autonomy of the republic and provincial LC organizations. We should also say that there are quite a few problematical relations which have resulted from differing interests and opinions. As for our cadres, there is a fear on the part of the advanced that they might fall behind, and on the part of the underdeveloped that they will not develop," Bilic said.

The marathon debate in the large auditorium of the Yugoslav Assembly, which is where the meetings of the LCY Central Committee are held, showed how accurate his assessments were. Even in his introductory address Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said:

"We are all well aware that our conflicts usually arise when matters important to the economic development of our republics and provinces are being deliberated and resolved. It is quite natural and understandable that there

actually exist differing interests when the time comes to reconcile views on certain questions in development. We must resolve those collisions successfully through democratic reconciliation of views, through agreements and compacts, through decisionmaking by delegates. We have indeed proven this in practice. However, experience also shows that there are serious problems as well, and we are encountering them most obviously in the work of the SFRY Assembly, even now when we are to carry out the tasks contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program."

The secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee recalled that delegations in the Assembly often take the interests of their respective republic and province as their point of departure and firmly defend the interests of their own respective republic or province, their own respective nationality. If we want to prevent this kind of behavior in time, certain matters have to be cleared up, above all in the ideological and political sphere, in the LC, in our Central Committee.

All the discussants at the 10th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee agreed with this assessment of Nikola Stojanovic, taking the view that this is a condition for devising a policy in 1984 which will open up prospects to our entire community and for them to be able in specific conflicts (when conflicts of interest break out) to adopt truly progressive views.

Should that not happen, especially if the party, managerial, technobureaucratic and other similar strata of society feel that they represent the class and the nationality, it is certain that there will be outbreaks of conflict, indeed of nationalism, and not just petty squabbles. Nikola Stojanovic said in his introductory address that we will not solve anything by merely haranguing against nationalism, but rather we must sever its roots, above all those which in part are even within the League of Communists itself.

In several meetings, and indeed in several interviews published recently, the highest leaders of the veterans' organization warned, as they have been constantly warning, of shortcomings in society. The words of those who laid the foundations of this society have had a strong response with the public. Bojan Polak spoke on behalf of the Presidium of the Federal Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] of Yugoslavia in a meeting on 29 September 1983. It is the unanimous assessment of the SUBNOR Presidium, Polak said, that the expectations of the working people and citizens, and thereby those of veterans, that things would take a turn for the better after the 12th LCY Congress have been disappointed.

Participants in the National Liberation Struggle agree with those who say that we have good documents and programs, but that there have been no concrete and determined steps to carry them out. The veterans feel, first of all, that there is an urgent need for complete unity, determination and responsibility on the part of all party members, all party organizations and bodies of leadership at all levels. That unity, it was stated in the Presidium of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia, does not exist even in the highest leadership of the League of Communists.

There is a crisis in the unity of the LC with respect to both ideology and action. What is agreed on at the top level of the party is not implemented when it reaches the republics and provinces. The veterans want a stop put to this pattern of behavior. Everything that goes against the principle of democratic centralism must be most harshly condemned, not only within the League of Communists, but indeed throughout society, regardless of who is concerned, Bojan Polak believes.

Veterans demand that the issue of personal and collective responsibility must be drawn to a fine point. They do not accept the argument that we are all equally responsible. It turns out that no one is responsible even for the most recent oversights and behavior. The issue of responsibility, the issue of the party member's moral image, must be drawn to a particularly fine point concerning those who hold responsible positions.

The veterans see the reason for the increasing noise made by those who say that we can get out of our present troubles only if the "command" is taken over by the so-called strong hand in the irresoluteness of the LC and in the fact that those problems which favor the spread of various oppositionist arguments are not being resolved. The Presidium of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia has proposed to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee that above all because of the crisis of unity concerning ideology in action in the LC the very top level of the party "shut itself up" with the chairmen of the republic and provincial committees at Karadjordjevo for whatever time it takes to examine all the essential issues of the present moment and future development. Unified and firm positions ought to be adopted at that meeting in Karadjordjevo, in the opinion of the veterans, concerning the urgent issues of the present time, and the causes of the present situation should be discovered. Of course, when they return from Karadjordjevo, the leaders would have to be consistent in carrying out the positions agreed on.

Even before Bojan Polak made his proposal on behalf of the veterans' organization of Yugoslavia before the members of the LCY Central Committee, an almost identical statement was made by a high official from SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia. Many others agreed with him. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say whether that meeting in Karadjordjevo will actually be held. Perhaps now such a meeting is not even necessary, since at the 10th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee there was discussion of unity and disunity in the ranks of the LC and in the bodies of leadership, indeed a great deal of discussion, frank and critical, unusual for us. That is, up to now these issues have by and large been spoken about only in closed meetings, and then the public would be informed about what the top leadership had been discussing.

Whether we like it or not, the impression of our helplessness does exist, said Vuko Vukadinovic, adding that the Central Committee must examine all the reasons why the disagreements arise. Not only because of the disagreements, but above all because these problems do really exist, whether we are talking about economic conditions, differences in rates of exchange, prices, relations in acquiring and distributing foreign exchange, and so on. Behind every problem there stands either some interest or some position. We must

judge views of particular issues from the standpoint of the system and practice. But it is also from the standpoint of the system that we must evaluate positions acquired and held previously. Until we can talk about these matters openly in the LCY Central Committee and bring the discussion to the point of agreement and clear positions, political life will be in the hands of small political structures, and statism and nationalism will gain strength from that. Opportunism will nibble away more and more of the tissue of the LCY, and the tendencies toward federalization of the LCY will also become stronger.

Vuko Vukadinovic was absolutely sincere. He also said this: "This Central Committee has the right to demand that party members in executive bodies and delegations act consistently and work effectively and to demand their accountability. Nevertheless, if we are not to play hide and seek in the institutions of the system, we have to state openly that a majority of us are involved in the process of reaching agreement, that nothing in fact happens without our knowing about, or that everything that happens takes place with our most direct involvement in it. It is for that reason that we must see where we differ in our opinions."

Probably the sincerity which Vukadinovic displayed influenced many others who spoke after him to say what they felt deep down. It is truly silly, to say the least, to look elsewhere for someone to blame that the leadership structures have been behaving inconsistently. That is why many members of the LCY Central Committee with whom we spoke in the very first intermission after Vukadinovic's statement said: "Vuko stated the real truth!"

What is it that bewilders the population and serves as an argument for those who say that there is no unity at the top, that is, in the bodies of leadership! There are several reasons for this, but in our opinion the main one lies in the differences in the statements made by the highest republic and indeed even federal officials.

"The party rank and file, the working people, quickly detect and respond unfavorably to dissonant tones, to differing views of people in bodies of leadership concerning essential issues, differing thoughts of the same people depending on which rostrum they are communicating or presenting their views. Differences in views are not always presented during proceedings in joint bodies. It has become a habit for the differences to be kept for public platforms or for one's own respective community," Vukadinovic said and added that the working people hesitate the most when they note vacillation and inconsistency in the leadership. "In that kind of situation we cannot expect them to take us at our word."

There are also those truly strange cases such as those described by Petar Stambolic. We have cases, he said, when some of our responsible comrades publicly renounce or discount the positions and conclusions which the Central Committee already adopted. That is why we must draw the line according to the policy we are conducting and the tasks which we have. Only in that way can we eliminate the vacillation and confusion created in the public.

Azem Vllasi feels that recently the tendency has become quite widespread for individuals, indeed even members of bodies of leadership, to compete to see who can portray our social and political situation in the darkest light. This is then taken up by various nationalists, anarcholiberals, dogmatists and statistes, indeed even various antisocialist elements, which openly present arguments with which they oppose the LCY policy and the system of socialist self-management. Usually those individuals and their arguments are given wide publicity in our news media, since to some editorial staffs and newsmen this seems attractive and sensational, and then polemics are started over this and an atmosphere of cheering and rooting is created. All of this creates confusion and dilemmas for the public.

Yet Vllasi was sincere and self-critical in saying that often those dilemmas and that confusion are compounded because of our own silence, irresolute views and reaction to those tendencies.

Vllasi formulated very precisely what is "torturing and paining" the people: "The enormous majority of the membership of the LCY, the working class and others see the causes of the accumulated problems and aggravated contradictions in society mainly in inconsistency, irresoluteness, ineffectiveness and inadequately enforced responsibility for carrying out the established policies, views and tasks, above all in bodies of leadership, and that from the basic organization of associated labor all the way to the highest bodies and forums in the country, and they do not see it in any sort of crisis of the system of socialist self-management, as certain oppositionist circles and forces have been attempting to demonstrate."

In all the discussions to date in the meetings of the LCY Central Committee--since the 12th congress--the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army have emphasized the importance of unity in the ranks of the party and in the leadership. Col Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff, also spoke along those lines at the 10th Plenum. He said that we dare not tolerate any longer major differences that exist in assessments and patterns of behavior at all levels. They disorient and confuse not only the people, but also the party rank and file, and they are an expression of our own weakness.

Nikola Stojanovic divided the statements made by former officials (more and more of whom are in the news media) into the well-intentioned and the faultfinders: "Every concern and public statement of the former officials--especially those who have a great deal of experience--are significant if they contribute to unity of action and to clarifying the problems. But if it comes down only to criticism, and at times even faultfinding, then that kind of internal 'concern' is not a contribution to getting out of our difficulties more rapidly, but only spreads distrust and creates confusion. We have the positions of the LCY which have been worked out for the present situation, and since those comrades are also members of the LC--they have a duty to abide by them, respecting the principle of democratic centralism."

Although Nikola Stojanovic did not mention a single name, those who read our newspapers regularly can easily guess who it is aimed at. One needs only to leaf through the daily and weekly press for the past month to recognize at

least two or three former officials who are now delivering lectures from the sidelines.

Spiro Galovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, attempted to answer the question of why the statements are so confusing and what they express. He feels that they cannot be explained away as accidental oversights or in terms of people's maliciousness. It is a question of many people not being involved in any sort of work.... When there is no systematic work that has been thought through, it is inevitable that we fall back on improvisation and superficial pragmatism, and there are public outbreaks not only of differences, which are a normal expression and feature of a democratic society, but also of deep disagreement, statements which are alarming and confusing. There would be considerably less of all that if there were more creativity in the focal political bodies of society, more responsibility in our political centers for what belongs only to them and which they cannot transfer, even should they want to, to anyone else, and that is the organization of work in building the social foundations for overcoming the crisis, Galovic feels.

What can and must be done to reduce the possibility of various speculations, although they can never be altogether suppressed?

Vuko Vukadinovic, former secretary of the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, sees the solution this way (the newsman snatched up the transcript of his statement): "If we want to be spared guesswork and speculation about whether the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee is unified, about whether it is acting as the political executive organ of the Central Committee, about whether it is an organ of the LC in the republics and provinces, and so on, it is indispensable that the Presidium regularly familiarize the Central Committee not only about current economic and political issues, but also and in particular about those matters on which reconciliation of opinions has not occurred in the Presidium, i.e., on which there are differences, so that then in the expanded group, that is, in the LCY Central Committee, every issue can be elucidated as comprehensively as possible. Following that kind of procedure everything would develop without loud alarms, without divisions and cheering sections, and everything would then appear quite natural."

Nikola Stojanovic said that nothing must remain unresolved and unreconciled (disharmonious) between the bodies of leadership of the LC, since this would inevitably result in undermining the unity of the LCY. That is also why, in his opinion, people cannot speak solely from "their own" positions, that is, present a one-sided assessment of some issue or event, since this is viewed as pressure, it confuses the public, and sometimes it even polarizes the nationalities. This shatters the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and the unity of the working class. The principle of democratic centralism must be consistently respected in this as in other respects. Anyone who violates it must be called to account by his own leadership.



Many conflicts and cases of "nervousness" have occurred because at certain moments it was not possible to arrive at a unified stand in the assembly bodies. Put objectively, these conflicts can very easily occur because there is the mental complex Jure Bilic spoke about to the Zagreb newsmen--fear of the advanced that they will fall behind, and on the other hand the fear of the underdeveloped that they will not develop. As soon as the republics and provinces fail to achieve agreement, petty politicians and enemies of our community begin to sing their old "song" about who is using whom or (as they say) who is robbing whom in our country.

Referring to the danger from unobjective news reports on the process of reaching agreement among the republics and provinces, Miran Potrc, member of the delegation of SR Slovenia in the Yugoslav Assembly, said that he was resolutely opposed to the practice of creating within a particular republic or province, without objective analyses, an adverse political disposition toward that republic or province which has not consented to a particular piece of legislation. Potrc is convinced that in such cases the opportunity should be created for comprehensive and public documentation of the reasons why consent could not be given. Those reasons ought to be debated in documented fashion not only in the Assembly, but also in public, tolerantly and objectively and without a priori commitment or even name-calling. When important issues are involved, this ought to be an occasion for activating the Socialist Alliance, especially the Federal Conference of the SAWP, and its sections, so that the problems, and indeed guidance and directions for resolving the particular problem can be evaluated from every angle. When important ideological matters are involved, this must be debated both by the LC and by its Central Committee in order to clear up those matters and to seek ways toward the best solution, Potrc feels.

After everything that has been said about disunity in the bodies of leadership, when it is a question of resolving certain specific issues, there is a dilemma about whether the disagreements began after the 12th LCY Congress or existed even before that. That question was answered by Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, a few days after the 10th Plenum, speaking in a meeting of the Assembly of SR Serbia.

"When differences arise in the process of working out positions and implementing them, then we are ready to speak about disunity in the LC. We have become accustomed to debating all matters mainly internally, which has for a long time created a picture of monolithism," Markovic said.

The headlines of the reports from the 10th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee contain the word "unity" in most daily papers. That fact itself indicates how much talk there was in the debate about unity in the ranks of the LC, from the base to the top. It was clearly stated from the rostrum of that high party forum that our revolutionary experience teaches us that unity is not something that is given once and for all; if it prevailed yesterday, that does not mean that it must also prevail today, since unity is not some historical legacy. Nor is it built with decrees or appeals, but in social reality the way it is and in the time in which we work and live. And that in everyday work, in political action and in struggle.



It was also stated in the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee that unity in the bodies of leadership is also decisive to the unity of the LCY and of the working class.

There was also much said to the effect that something must be changed in the work of the Central Committee, that most responsible body of the LCY in the interval between congresses. We recall that on the eve of the recent republic congresses and the 12th LCY Congress there was much said about how something must be changed in the central committees so that they would be more effective. There was much debate about whether the number of members of the central committees ought to be cut almost in half so that the meetings would be "more businesslike." It was said that those bodies are cumbersome and that there are too many monologues and too few dialogues and creative polemics in them. Some republic central committees have reduced the number of their members, but the "federal" did not do so, since it must in its composition satisfy several structural elements, from the ethnic to the occupational.

In view of the present difficult economic situation--which certainly is making the political situation more difficult--Tito's demand at the 10th LCY Congress is still more relevant today. He said at that time that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia needed a strong, dynamic and influential leadership, that is, a kind of political, ideological center, a central committee with executive organs, which through its organized and timely action and political views and decisions would guarantee unity of leadership and unity of action throughout the League of Communists, would guide its action in resolving the essential problems that arise in the development of the Yugoslav community in the context of socialist self-management.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee also spoke critically about its own work in the recent expanded meeting.

"I can say that we have been very severe in our criticism and self-criticism, that we have looked each other in the eye in a comradely and communist way, and have openly said what we had to say and were required to say, that we have drawn the lessons, and that in future we will act still more effectively, responsibly and unitedly," Stojanovic said.

Milos Minic and Vice Admiral Tihomir Vilovic also criticized the mode of operation of the Central Committee and its Presidium up to this point at the plenum referred to.

"The LCY Central Committee has a duty and responsibility to undertake everything necessary so that the LCY performs its role in straightening out political and economic conditions in the country. That is why the Central Committee ought to change its mode of operation and bring it into conformity as much as possible with the bylaws adopted at the 12th congress so that the long-standing practice will not continue of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee functioning de facto, but not formally, in the place of the Central Committee, while the Central Committee meets occasionally and carries on general discussions, or only confirms the proposals of its Presidium, which is supposed to operate as its political-executive organ. The times now are

different from what they were. There is no longer a Tito, no longer a Kardelj, nor any of the other distinguished historical figures who had an enormous influence and prestige in the League of Communists and also with the people. And also the general situation is complicated, difficult, full of acute and potential dangers to our country--from domestic and external sources. The situation at present demands that the Central Committee be fully aware of the course of development of the entire action being carried out by the LC and the entire society to achieve the goals which will lead toward economic, political and social stabilization," Milos Minic said.

When the members of the Central Committee passed on to "current" matters after the marathon debate, Vice Admiral Tihomir Vilovic asked for the floor, and he said among other things that the Central Committee must very soon initiate discussion of the method of its own work, since up to now it has not been good, i.e., the work of the Central Committee has not been sufficiently effective and optimal.

The chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee Dragoslav Markovic agreed with Vilovic's assessments, saying that this must be debated--in his opinion--in a meeting of the LCY Central Committee to discuss the situation and relations in the LC.

The Presidium and the relevant commissions of the LCY Central Committee have already begun to prepare the meeting of the LCY Central Committee at which there will be detailed discussion of the political-ideological fitness and activity of the LCY.

What should be changed in the work of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, whose activity the rank and file of the LC and the public learn about only from TANJUG reports full of "diplomatic" phrasings?

"Neither in our Presidium nor in the other organs of the LC dare we allow ourselves any longer to constantly 'complain' about shortcomings and difficulties, instead of giving all we have to finding solutions and in initiating and organizing political action. Collective work and responsibility should be given greater affirmation in the organs of our LC. Authentic democratic and comradely communist relations and openness ought to prevail in them still more, there ought to be a predominance of that kind of creative debate which can lead to the most objective and most highly principled policy positions. As the political executive organ of the LCY Central Committee, but also on the basis of the political guidelines issued by the congress and the conclusions of the Central Committee, the Presidium should operate with still greater ideological and political unity in initiating and elaborating particular issues, should react in good time to political events, and, in conformity with Article 80 of the LCY Bylaws, should guide and organize more effectively the operational implementation of the policy set forth and the political stands which have been taken," Nikola Stojanovic said.

Another of the tasks of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee is to cooperate better in future with the central committees of the republics and the provincial committees and guarantee more timely mutual information concerning

current political-ideological issues. It is also the obligation of the Presidium to provide better information to the rank and file in basic organizations or through the press, but, Stojanovic said, so far there has been sluggishness and inconsistency and indeed even quite serious shortcomings in this regard.

When the daily newspapers published the resolutions of the 10th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, many wondered without any sort of malice what their fate would be. It was also mentioned on several occasions in the plenum that even in the past we have had good resolutions, but that we have not abided by them. This certainly has been detracting from the prestige not only of the League of Communists, but also of its bodies of leadership.

According to a survey conducted by the Center for Political Science Research and Public Opinion of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade, the prestige of the League of Communists has been declining these past several years. The survey covered 880 members of the LC in Belgrade.

In the opinion of 21 percent of the respondents, the prestige of the LC is low; the same proportion think that it is high, and all of 53 percent of those asked were united in the judgment that today the LC has a so-so reputation with the people. Most critical were party members from work collectives and from the university. In comparison with similar surveys conducted in 1974, it is evident that prestige has been dropping, since in 1974 all of 78 percent of the respondents judged that the LC had high prestige. Now all of 60 percent of the respondents do not believe that this situation will change soon.

The author of these lines put to Jure Bilic a question in the conference mentioned: Did he feel that the prestige of the leadership had declined and what did he think about whether the people believe in the leadership?

Bilic said that there are those who do believe and those who do not believe in the leadership, but it is certain that the prestige of the LC is declining. There is a great deal of talk, both truths and untruths, there is the opinion that everything is corrupt, that everything is privileged. There are tales which are true, but there are quite a few tales which are not valid. That is a matter of psychology. There are people who do this well-meaningly, simply out of a fear for the fate of the country, but there are people who feel that all those who are in power must be corrupt, since power is in and of itself corruption. Nor should the international component in such stories be neglected.

We are aware that some people would like to behead this country and for that reason are attacking the leadership. To be sure, at times we ourselves are to blame for not being radical in clearing up the things which are negative. Through vigorous action we certainly would have strengthened the reputation of the LC and set in motion all the creative forces of society.

In reading that part of the resolutions of the 10th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee (concerning differentiation in the LC) in which it states that

it is no longer permissible for there to remain in its ranks those who vacillate, opportunists, petit bourgeois, those who represent bureaucratic arbitrariness and technocracy, and those who have abandoned the ideological positions and policy of the LC, we were reminded of Tito's speech to the political activ of Zagreb on 9 September 1972:

"Our first task is to purge our own ranks. It is not enough just to talk about it, we must once and for all be a little more vigorous in tackling the job. After all, we cannot do without unity in the League of Communists, without full awareness of the need for democratic centralism, which presupposes execution of decisions on the basis of our program.... As I have said, we need to set things to rights in the League of Communists.

"In this matter we must be severe, most rigorous.... We must combat various negative things, such as, for instance, enrichment, which is very conspicuous to people and is already creating political problems for us. But it is not enough to say that we are fighting against enrichment. We have to say who we are talking about and where, so that he is known about and every one of our workers sees his face. We have to wage the fight with the help of the broad working masses. We cannot rely solely on the administrative method," Tito said.

Tito's words which he uttered 8 years ago in Macedonia (to the political activ of SR Macedonia on 2 April 1975 and in the conversation at the foundry in Titov Veles on 1 April 1975), are, in our opinion, still more relevant today than they were then. Tito had said that what the League of Communists still lacked most of all was discipline. A party member cannot hold a key position, regardless of what sector is involved, and fail to carry out the decisions made within the LC. He cannot vote for those decisions and then do as he pleases. In that respect we still have various anomalies. That is why discipline in the LC should be strengthened, it ought to be the kind we once had, the party members should truly be real communists, and not merely members of the party. After all, there are still members of the party who do not belong among communists.

The question of whether and how we will carry out the resolutions of the 10th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee--which we can rightly refer to as a plenum for strengthening the unity of party ranks--depends precisely on the extent to which the owners of the red cards will prove themselves to be true communists.

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